

American SOCIOLOGICAL Review



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Vol. 18

June 1953

No. 3

Official Journal of the American Sociological Society



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AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW

Official Journal of the American Sociological Society

VOLUME 18

JUNE, 1953

NUMBER 3

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★ Membership dues of the Society, including subscription, are \$10.00 per year. Subscription rate, \$6.00. Single issues, \$1.25. Postage is paid by the publishers in the United States and Canada; other countries, \$1.00 per year.

Four weeks' advance notice to the Executive Office, and old address as well as new, are necessary for change of subscriber's address.

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University of Washington
Seattle 5, Washington

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New York University
Washington Square
New York 3 N. Y.

Entered as second-class matter at the post office at Albany, New York, under the Act of March 3, 1879. Acceptance for mailing at special rate of postage provided for in the Act of February 23, 1925, embodied in paragraph 4, section 538, P.L. and R., authorized June 4, 1936.

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American SOCIOLOGICAL Review

June
1953

Volume 18
Number 3

Official Journal of the American Sociological Society

LEVELS OF ASPIRATION AND SOCIAL CLASS

LEONARD REISSMAN *

Tulane University

WOVEN throughout much of the material on social class is the implication that different levels of aspiration are held by individuals in different social classes. Mills, for example, holds that for the white-collar class, "Success in America has been a widespread fact, an engaging image, a driving motive, and a way of life."¹ Warner states that those in the upper-lower class of Yankee City are thought of as "pushy" and ambitious, and implies that the same is true for those in the lower-upper class.² Marx maintains that the proletariat can have no aspirations under capitalism, but instead must come to identify with their own class and aspire to an entirely different system of values.³ Knupfer, in summarizing a variety of information, concludes that lower status individuals hold low levels of aspiration "to make life tolerable"; a fact which in some cases is a "sign of apathy and ingrained acceptance of defeat rather than of adjustment to reality. . . ." ⁴ Finally, the mistrustful "commonsense" view often implies that the middle class contains the

"strivers and strainers" and the lower class those with little or no ambition. There is a lack of clarity and comparability in these statements, and even an intimation of contradiction. It would seem important for the study of social class to determine what the nature of the relationship is between class and aspirations. It is the purpose of the present paper to point out some of the characteristics of that relationship as they might become important for further study.

Several difficulties attend such study, partly as a function of the character of aspirations, partly as a function of social class definition. First, there is some confusion in the definition and empirical determination of class, which has been taken to mean status, economic position, power, ideology, associations, and various combinations of these.⁵ The lack of adequate theory often has made it necessary to use a limited operational definition of class which does not take into account the multiplicity of aspects just noted.⁶ Secondly, aspirations refer to a future time period and consequently there often is no opportunity to check upon the reliability of a subject's

* The writer is indebted to the Social Science Research Council for a fellowship grant for this research and to Professor Paul K. Hatt for his comments and criticisms. The views expressed are the responsibility of the writer alone.

¹ C. Wright Mills, *White Collar*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1951, p. 259.

² W. Lloyd Warner and Paul S. Lunt, *The Status System of a Modern Community*, New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1942, p. 28.

³ Cf. M. M. Bober, *Karl Marx's Interpretation of History*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1948, for an especially cogent analysis of Marxian theory.

⁴ Genevieve Knupfer, "Portrait of the Underdog," *Public Opinion Quarterly* (Spring, 1947), pp. 103-114.

⁵ Cf. Llewellyn Gross, "The Use of Class Concepts in Sociological Research," *American Journal of Sociology*, 54 (1949), pp. 409-422; C. Wright Mills, review of *The Social Life of a Modern Community*, in *American Sociological Review*, 7 (1942), pp. 263-271; Paul K. Hatt, "Stratification in the Mass Society," *American Sociological Review*, 15 (1950), pp. 216-222.

⁶ For this reason, income, occupation, or education, for example, are often used to approximate class position. The problem of definition cannot be solved in the present study and to some extent it too relies upon one measure—occupational prestige—to index relative social class levels.

aspirations. The same is true, of course, in determining the aspirations that may have been held in the past. This situation obviously can limit the reliability of any study of aspirations. Thirdly, the research interest in aspirations usually is directed toward generalizing for a group as a whole rather than ascertaining a specific description of any one person's aspirations. Interest is in whether aspirations are "high" or "low," or in the intensity with which they are held, rather than in the content of those aspirations. What is being sought is a theoretically sound comparison between individuals, even though some may aspire to owning material goods, some to fame, or some to acceptance in the community. In effect, this means concentrating upon some common denominator of aspirations rather than upon the content of the aspirations themselves. Finally, aspirations usually are held with reference to some social group and should be judged in the light of that fact. It seems necessary to make some estimate of the reference group against which the aspirations of the individual can be compared.⁷ The importance of correctly identifying the reference group increases when aspirations are viewed as possible determinants of behavior. Because of the importance of the reference group concept, an attempt was made in the present study to approximate it by means of age groups and intra-family comparisons.

These four difficulties point to some of the major problems involved in the study of aspirations. Perhaps it is for these reasons that most of the research on the subject has been limited either to laboratory-controlled experiments or to studies of a college population. In the former type the major concern is with the mechanics of setting aspiration levels. A typical experiment would present the individual with some task and ask him to estimate his future performance on that task. Usually, after the completion of the task, he is again asked to estimate his future performance, and so on. This "es-

timation" is then generally interpreted to mean "aspirations," and the mechanics of setting one's aspirations and one's reactions to them in the light of the actual performance have been delineated in a series of steps or stages.⁸ Generally, the findings of these studies seem to have limited applicability to the study of aspirations in relation to social class. The laboratory situation is not comparable to the reality of social class, and the counterparts are not easily found or inferred.

A second body of research materials on aspirations is limited to college populations. The findings of these studies for the most part are not especially informative. Certainly it is not surprising to learn, as one study shows, that success leads to the raising of the level of aspirations and failure to a lowering of that level. Even this finding must be modified as the present research implies. Furthermore, the fact that most of these conclusions are based upon college students limits their applicability to an adult situation.⁹ It is not unreasonable to argue that the life experiences of adults in the community are often crucially different from those of college students.¹⁰ An outstanding exception to the two categories of research noted, is one by Rose on the ambition patterns of Negro industrial workers. It is one of the very few studies that attacks the

⁸ A classic example of this type is the study by Kurt Lewin and others, "Level of Aspiration," in *Personality and Behavior Disorders*, edited by J. McV. Hunt, Vol. I, New York: Ronald Press, 1944, pp. 333-378.

⁹ There seems to be little point in studying college students alone if the initial and primary interest is in the adult of the larger community. Especially in the case of class or aspirations, there are basic differences between the two situations which are not easily resolved. This caution does not apply, of course, if the interest is primarily in the student population.

¹⁰ Cf. Irvin L. Child and John W. M. Whiting, "Determinants of Level of Aspiration: Evidence from Everyday Life," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology* 44 (1949), pp. 303-314; Dwight W. Chapman and John Volkmann, "A Social Determinant of the Level of Aspiration," in *Readings in Social Psychology*, edited by T. M. Newcomb, E. L. Hartley, and others, New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1947. One of the more insightful and useful studies on college students is by Rosalind Gould, "Some Sociological Determinants of Goal Strivings," *Journal of Social Psychology*, 13 (1941), pp. 461-473.

⁷ One of the most explicit statements of the importance of the reference group is to be found in Herbert Hyman, "Psychology of Status," *Archives of Psychology* (1942), No. 269. A similar idea is implied in the concept of "relative deprivation" as used in Samuel A. Stouffer, et. al., *The American Soldier*, Vol. I, Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1949, pp. 122-130.

problem of adult aspirations in terms of class position.¹¹ His findings show that Negroes in the "lower-middle" class are more realistic about their position than those in the lower class groups. The former expect to be working with the same company in the next ten years, do not prefer better jobs because they feel that they have reached their job ceiling, and finally, feel that their chances for advancement in the industry are not good. The lower class groups, on the other hand, appear to express much higher ambitions, which can be interpreted as somewhat unrealistic in the light of their present situation.

THE SUBJECTS

The present study includes two major conditions: (1) it limits the study of aspirations to an occupational referent; and (2) it studies adults. The first condition provides a standard upon which aspirations can be based; a standard which has relevance to the study of social class generally. The second condition means that the study can be more realistically concerned with adult aspirations as they might be important for social class.

White, male, native-born adults limited the selection of subjects, because variations in any of these factors could be confounding and would require separate study. One group of subjects was randomly selected from the city of Evanston, Illinois, by means of a modified areal sample drawn from all housing units in the city. The male head of the household was interviewed in each case. Evanston, it should be noted, is a northern suburb of Chicago with a population of over 65,000. It is primarily residential, although it also contains a university, a shopping center, and some light manufacturing plants. On the whole, the impression gained of Evanston is that it is composed of older-aged individuals, many of whom have been economically successful. A second group of subjects consisted of all policemen in attendance at a technical school and coming from all parts of the country. A third group

of subjects, polled by mail questionnaire,¹² were members of a Junior Chamber of Commerce (Jaycees). The latter two groups were included as criterion groups for possible comparison. The one, possibly representative of security-minded civil service personnel; the other, young, community-conscious with some emphasis on "success."

PROCEDURE

The analysis of the aspirations of these informants keeps the groups separate—the Evanston sample, policemen, and Jaycees. Two further divisions are made for the purpose of analysis. First, the Evanston sample is divided into two age groups, those 50 years old and older and those younger than 50. It is plausible to hold that not only the accomplishments, but also the aspirations of individuals can vary according to age. For the older men, there has been more time to achieve a certain occupational rank and to attain certain income levels. For the older men too, aspirations should be interpreted in the light of their advanced years and the possibility of further advancement for them. The division at 50 years is, of course, arbitrary, but is a meaningful point for separating the older from the younger men. For these reasons, comparisons should be made within each of the two age groups separately, the implication being that age groups in this instance might be one important reference point for individual self-evaluation. A second division has also been made for the Evanston sample on the basis of "level of achievement."¹³ This measure is based upon the occupational prestige scores as derived from the North-Hatt scale of occupations.¹⁴ Briefly, these scores represent the relative prestige stand-

¹² A 50 per cent return was obtained for these questionnaires. No attempt is made to claim representativeness for this group.

¹³ A fuller description of this measure can be found in the writer's *Levels of Achievement and Aspiration: A Study in Social Class and Status Striving*, unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, Northwestern University, 1952.

¹⁴ Cecil C. North and Paul K. Hatt, "Jobs and Occupations: A Popular Evaluation," in *Sociological Analysis*, edited by L. Wilson and W. L. Kolb, New York: Harcourt Brace & Co., 1949, pp. 464-474. The writer gratefully acknowledges the cooperation of Professor Hatt in making available a complete listing of those scores.

¹¹ Alvin W. Rose, *A Socio-Psychological Analysis of the Ambition Patterns of a Sample of Industrial Workers*, unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Chicago, 1946.

ing of an occupation according to the evaluations of individuals in a nation-wide study.¹⁵ The "level of achievement" measure is a modification of that score in that it takes into account not only the occupational prestige attained by the subject, but also that attained by the subject's father. The logic of this operation holds that an individual's occupational achievements should be evaluated in part by the start he has been given by his father's position. The measure can be presented as follows:

Level of Achievement = Subject's O.P.S. + (Subject's O.P.S. - Father's O.P.S.) where "O.P.S." stands for "occupational prestige score." In other words, where the subject has a *lower* occupational prestige score than his father, to that extent his level of achievement is lower than his own prestige score. Conversely, where the subject has a *higher* occupational prestige score than his father, then his level of achievement will be higher than his own prestige score. Levels of achievement were calculated in this manner for all individuals and divided at the median into "high" and "low" achievers. Table 1 shows the number of cases in each of the groups as well as additional descriptive information.¹⁶ The Evanston men

¹⁵ Respondents were asked to evaluate occupations on a five-point rating scale as "excellent," "good," "average," "somewhat below average" or "poor." Prestige scores were then obtained by translating the percentage ratings on each job into a single general score. *Ibid.*, p. 465.

¹⁶ Except for age, the median is used in all other cases as a measure of central tendency. In

generally are older than either the policemen or Jaycees. The close similarity between levels of achievement of the three major groups is, of course, a result of using the median of the entire distribution.

TABLE 1. DISTRIBUTION, AGE, AND LEVEL OF ACHIEVEMENT OF SUBJECTS

	Number of Cases	Mean Age	Median Level of Achievement
Evanston Sample	121	46.3	70
Old High Achievers	33	59.3	81
Old Low Achievers	20	56.7	54
Young High Achievers	34	36.9	85
Young Low Achievers	34	37.0	57
Policemen	83	36.3	69
Jaycees	50	28.9	68

DESCRIPTION OF THE GROUPS

Table 2 presents a comparison of the groups on four commonly accepted indices of social class—occupational prestige, income, rent, and education. Clearly, the policemen are at the bottom of the ladder in those comparisons. They earn less, pay less rent, and show a lower percentage of college attendance than any other group, although they do have a large percentage of those with at least a high school education.

the light of the distributions this seemed to be the more reliable estimate.

TABLE 2. DESCRIPTION OF GROUPS FOR SELECTED SOCIAL CLASS VARIABLES

	Median Occupational Prestige ¹	Median Weekly Income	Median Monthly Rent ²	Education	
				Per Cent Any College	Per Cent Any High School ³
Evanston Sample	68	\$127.00	\$93.75	54.8	29.4
Old High Achievers	74	192.50	138.40	54.5	33.3
Old Low Achievers	68	116.50	77.10	35.0	35.0
Young High Achievers	74	111.00	84.90	55.9	26.5
Young Low Achievers	68	116.50	91.25	64.7	26.5
Policemen	67	74.00	66.00	25.3	72.3
Jaycees	69	95.00	88.50	96.0	4.0

¹ Based upon North-Hatt scale of occupations.

² Contract or estimated.

³ Does not include those with college attendance.

The older high achievers of the Evanston sample are clearly at the top of the ladder. They earn more, pay more rent, and hold occupations of high prestige, although the last is certainly a function of the level of achievement measure. The Jaycees are the best educated of all, but tend to fall below the young Evanston men in both income and rent.

Of special concern in Table 2 is the comparison of achievement groups within each age category of the Evanston sample. Among the older men, the high achievers are correspondingly higher than the low achievers in each of the four indices. Among the younger men, on the other hand, whatever differences appear are generally in favor of

ance of the Jaycees should not be interpreted too closely inasmuch as they have the highest percentage of unmarried men—a situation which will raise the age at marriage of the group as those men do marry.

Table 3 suggests that the old high achievers have sacrificed marriage and children for the sake of their high prestige attainments, as compared with the older low achievers. For the younger men, on the other hand, no such differential sacrifice is apparent. The differences between the younger achievement groups do not present the wide disparity in either the class indices or the family indices as was true for the older men.

In Table 4 a comparison is made between the occupational prestige of the subject with

TABLE 3. AGE AT MARRIAGE AND AT BIRTH OF FIRST CHILD OF SUBJECTS

	Median Age at Marriage	Per Cent Never Married	Median Age Father at Birth First Child	Per Cent No Children ¹
Evanston Sample	25.7	3.3	29.8	19.8
Old High Achievers	28.4	....	32.5	27.3
Old Low Achievers	26.8	....	30.7	25.0
Young High Achievers	24.6	5.8	28.4	12.5
Young Low Achievers	24.7	5.8	30.0	18.8
Policemen	23.8	1.2	27.4	17.1
Jaycees	24.3	36.0	27.2	25.0

¹ Includes only those ever married.

the low achievers, who earn more, pay more rent, and are better educated. However, these differences are not as large as those seen in the case of the older men. The low achievers are low only in occupational prestige, as compared to the high achievers.

Table 3 presents the relative ages of the subjects at the time of marriage and paternity. It has been suggested in demographic theory that status (or class position) and marriage are antithetical goals; that the desire for and pursuit of material gain is bought at the expense of delaying marriage and children. Some support for this view is seen in the fact that for the older men, high achievers tend to marry later and become fathers later than the low achievers. Furthermore, the policemen, who ranked relatively low in the social class indices, married sooner and had children sooner than any other single group of subjects. The perform-

ance of his brothers. Although there is no certain proof, it is plausible to suppose that the subject might use his brothers as a possible referent for evaluating his own prestige accomplishments. Both low achieving groups, in each age group, are clearly behind their brothers in occupational prestige. Almost half of the brothers of low achievers are in occupations with greater prestige. The opposite is true for the high achievers. More than half of their brothers are in lower prestige occupations. The policemen make a good showing, with half of them equaling the prestige of their brothers, and almost a third of them exceeding that. This situation tends to support a suspicion that the policemen come from lower class families and manage to achieve a higher occupational prestige considering their point of origin.

A final comparison is made in Table 5, in which the prestige of the present and the

TABLE 4. OCCUPATIONAL PRESTIGE OF SUBJECTS COMPARED WITH BROTHERS

	Total Number of Brothers	Percentage Brothers Ahead of Subject	Percentage Brothers Even with Subject	Percentage Brothers Behind Subject
Evanston Sample	155	24.5	39.9	35.6
Old High Achievers	50	8.0	36.0	56.0
Old Low Achievers	30	40.0	53.3	6.7
Young High Achievers	36	11.1	30.6	58.3
Young Low Achievers	39	46.2	41.0	12.8
Policemen	113	17.7	51.3	31.0
Jaycees ¹	16	....	....	....

¹ Percentages not calculated because of small number of cases.

preceding jobs of the subjects are compared. Among the older men, the high achievers once again show a prestige superiority over the low achievers. The high achievers have shown somewhat more mobility in that a third of them have made a prestige advance by moving into their present occupation. This compares with the 5 per cent of the low achievers who have shown a similar advance. The latter tend much more (60 per cent) to move horizontally, exchanging jobs with equal occupational prestige. The disparity is not as marked among the younger men. Most categories are comparable except for the fact that the low achievers tend more frequently to lose prestige in their present job change. The high achievers, on the other hand, tend to show a greater percentage of those without previous job experience. A similar picture appears for the Jaycees who also have about one third of

their number without previous job experience. The largest percentage of them have moved horizontally, exchanging jobs with equal prestige. The policemen, it should be noted, have shown the greatest upward mobility of all, with more than half (62.7 per cent) having made an upward move into their present occupation. This could further support the contention noted above, namely, that they come from lower class origins and the job of policeman is definitely an upward prestige move.

This description serves to characterize each of the groups of subjects in terms of their present position, and serves as an introduction to the final comparison of occupational aspirations. Summarized briefly, it can be said that the high achievers among the older men have shown a history of successful and continued prestige striving. Not only are they high achievers, but they earn more,

TABLE 5. OCCUPATIONAL PRESTIGE OF PRESENT JOB COMPARED WITH PRECEDING JOB

	Present Job Is Prestige Advance	No Dif- ference in Prestige	Present Job Is Prestige Loss	No Pre- vious Job
Percentages				
Evanston Sample	23.8	37.7	13.1	25.4
Old High Achievers	33.3	30.3	15.2	21.2
Old Low Achievers	5.0	60.0	20.0	15.0
Young High Achievers	29.4	32.4	2.9	35.3
Young Low Achievers	20.6	35.3	17.6	26.5
Policemen	62.7	10.8	16.9	9.6
Jaycees	18.0	44.0	4.0	34.0

pay more rent, and are better educated than the low achievers in this age group. Furthermore, the high achievers apparently have delayed the involvements of marriage and children longer, presumably so as not to hamper their pattern of striving. Finally, the high achievers are more upwardly mobile than the low achievers and they compare more favorably with their brothers' prestige than do the low achievers.

Among the younger men, the differences are not as great nor as consistent. Although the high achievers in this age group have done well occupationally in all comparisons, differences in income, rent, and education are not marked. There is almost no difference in their ages at marriage, although the low achievers tend to delay paternity somewhat longer than the high achievers. In some instances it seems that the low achievers among the younger men are attempting to emulate the formula of occupational success characteristic of the older high achievers.

The policemen are a fairly clearly delineated group. Their major upward prestige move seems to have already been made. Starting from lower prestige beginnings, they have completed a high school education and have entered their present job as an upward step. There is reason to suspect that this step represents the last major occupational move for them. The Jaycees are a group of the youngest men about whom it seems too early to speculate. They are well-educated and apparently should show some gains at a later time.

LEVEL OF ASPIRATION

The opportunity for occupational advancement was used as a specific situation to determine aspirations. The question was asked:

"Suppose you were offered an opportunity to make a substantial advance in a job or occupation. Place a check opposite each item in the following list to show how important it would be in stopping you from making that advance."

The alternative choices for each of the eleven considerations shown in Table 6 were, "might stop me from making the change," "would be a serious consideration but wouldn't stop me," and "wouldn't matter

at all." The analysis of aspirations was limited to the last response category—"wouldn't matter at all"—because it requires the most clearly definitive stand by the respondent. There is some assurance that those who believe any item does not matter at all, are expressing a more stable commitment—one that is clearly removed from any further consideration.

The logic of the question is that the individual who indicated that these considerations would not stand in his way is the one who is expressing a higher level of aspiration. On the other hand, the individual who indicates that more of these items would matter, is expressing a lower level of aspiration.¹⁷ This type of question, it is believed, requires the subject to make a realistic assessment by specifying a possible situation with plausible considerations. His responses are less likely to be expressions of day-dreams which he himself would not seriously consider.

No single level of aspiration score was computed for the purposes of the present study. Comparisons are based upon the percentages within each group of subjects that reject each of the eleven items and consider them as desired alternatives to occupational mobility. Therefore, the "level of aspiration" should be interpreted in terms of the *relative* ranking of the groups of subjects or of the items themselves, rather than in terms of an *absolute* score. For example, on the basis of the information presented in Table 6 it can be said that the younger low achievers of the Evanston sample show a relatively higher level of aspiration than the high achievers. Similarly, a willingness to endanger one's health indicates a relatively higher aspirational level than a willingness to take on more responsibility.

Among the older men it is the high achievers who show consistently higher aspirations. These same individuals, who have shown a higher level of achievement and a greater emphasis upon class goals rather than marital ones, continue to express a desire to strive in the future. In only two

¹⁷ The general logic of this question and suggestions for its formulation resulted from a graduate seminar under the direction of Professor Paul K. Hatt. The writer is indebted to that seminar for the initial formulation of the question and its theoretical possibilities.

instances—keeping quiet about religious and political views—do they have lower percentages than the low achievers. In all others, the high achievers indicate higher percentages who feel that the particular item would not matter in considering a possible occupational advance. However, in the light of their age, it seems unlikely that they will be able to effect any significant changes in their present position. Yet their aspira-

Evanston sample. It is the low achievers who clearly show the higher aspirational levels. More than half of the group—a higher proportion than for any other—have indicated high aspirations in this series of items. In all but two instances, the low achievers show greater percentages of those for whom the particular item would not matter in considering an occupational advance. Both high and low achievers are alike

TABLE 6. PERCENTAGES INDICATING ITEMS THAT "WOULDN'T MATTER" IN A POSSIBLE OCCUPATIONAL ADVANCE

Considerations	Evanston Sample				Police- men	Jaycees	Totals for All Groups
	Older Ages		Younger Ages				
	High Achievers	Low Achievers	High Achievers	Low Achievers			
Endanger your health	15.2	5.0	5.9	5.9	3.7	4.0	5.9
Leave your family for some time	27.3	10.0	11.8	20.6	2.5	8.0	11.0
Move around the country a lot	39.4	20.0	23.5	35.3	16.2	22.0	24.0
Leave your community	36.4	25.0	50.0	58.9	17.5	40.0	34.6
Leave your friends	42.4	35.0	52.9	55.9	30.0	38.0	39.8
Give up leisure time	51.5	40.0	35.3	58.8	37.5	42.0	42.5
Keep quiet about political views	39.4	50.0	52.9	47.1	62.5	44.0	50.8
Keep quiet about religious views	51.5	60.0	44.1	52.9	56.2	44.0	50.8
Learn a new routine	72.7	35.0	79.4	88.2	59.0	92.0	72.1
Work harder than you are now	60.6	45.0	73.5	82.3	67.4	92.0	75.2
Take on more responsi- bility	75.8	50.0	88.2	94.1	72.4	94.0	79.5
Total percentage of "wouldn't matter" to all possible responses	46.6	34.1	47.1	54.5	37.5	47.3	....
Number of cases	33	20	34	34	83	50	....

tions continue high. The explanation might be that the older high achievers have been so devoted to the pursuit of success that their orientation carries with it a momentum into the future even at their present age. For them, it appears that the ethic of striving is never over, and the goal never won. The low achievers, on the other hand, are relatively low aspiring. They have not been especially successful in the past and appear to be content with their present position in the future as well. The time for striving is over for them, if indeed, they ever were interested.

A reverse situation is found in the comparison between the younger men of the

in their stand toward "endangering health." In the other case—keeping quiet about political views—the low achievers are not as willing to foresake this consideration as are the high achievers. The low achievers seem to be consistently and strongly oriented toward success in the future. They have not done as well in the past as the high achievers in terms of occupational achievement, nor have they done as well as their own brothers. The low achievers might have the necessary impetus for setting high future goals with both the young high achievers and their brothers as possible reference groups pointing to their own lack of success. It can be argued that if future occupational achieve-

ment were not important for them, then the low achievers would not show such consistently higher aspirations. Differences in the class indices between high and low achievers were not great and if achievement in the future were not important then differences in aspirations should also be absent. For the younger men, unlike the older men, there is still time to achieve success. The low achievers apparently are sufficiently aware of the difference to be oriented in that direction.

This is not to say that the high achievers among the younger men in the Evanston sample are completely disinterested in the future. They show some willingness to hold higher aspirations in that they are willing to work harder, to learn a new routine, and to take on more responsibility if the possibility of advancement presented itself. However, these conditions are in a sense the *sine qua non* of mobility and such willingness is not too surprising. Further, they also are somewhat more willing than the older men to break present social ties to take advantage of a better job, as seen in a comparison of the items dealing with leaving the community and leaving their friends. Yet, the high achievers are not as consistently willing as the low achievers to forego other considerations such as giving up leisure time, leaving the family, or moving around the country a lot.

The security orientation of the policemen is more evident in the matter of aspirations. They seem to have settled down without aspiring to further advancement. They hold aspirations almost as low as the older low achievers and show a greater disinclination to leave friends, family or community. These ties bind them into their present position and appear to be more important than future advancement. The Jaycees are most comparable to the young high achievers. They show the same readiness to work harder, learn a new routine, and take on more responsibility; the same disinclination to leave the family or move around the country. Further, they seem even more unwilling than the young high achievers to leave their friends or to leave their community. This can be interpreted to support the suspicion that members of this organization are almost as much community-oriented as they might be mobility-oriented.

CONCLUSIONS

The findings of the present study suggest that the relationship between class and aspirations is not a simple one. In other words, successful achievement in the past does not necessarily mean higher aspirational levels in the future, as is implied in some of the studies referred to earlier in this paper. First, age has emerged as an important factor in that relationship. Among the older men, those with relatively high past achievements as indexed by occupational prestige, income, rent, and education, expressed relatively high levels of aspiration compared to those with lower past achievement. The high achievers among the older men appear to have established a momentum of past striving that carries over into their future aspirations, even though it would seem that they are beyond the effective age for fulfilling such ambitions. A reverse situation was found among the younger men. In that instance, it was the low occupational achievers who expressed the higher levels of aspiration, although it should be noted that differences in achievements among the younger men were not as marked as for the older men. Apparently there is both the time and the need for the younger low achievers to aspire and achieve in the future.

Second, the reference groups used by individuals appear to affect the relationship between class and aspirations. The present study cannot describe the unique aspirational patterns of separate individuals, but some imputation can be made on the more general group level. The importance of the reference group appeared most clearly in the case of the policemen studied. Compared to the other groups, the policemen ranked low in the social class indices and low in aspiration levels. However, in a comparison with their own brothers, it became clear that they have made significant advances in occupational prestige. It can be argued that the brothers constitute the crucial reference group for the policemen and consequently, that their low level of aspiration is basically an expression of satisfaction with their present position. Further support for this interpretation can be found in the high percentages of marriage and paternity for the group. In other words, they are now interested in

settling down after having achieved success as measured in their terms.

Finally, orientations other than success and mobility can be dominant for some individuals, and thereby affect the relationship between class position and aspirations. This situation appeared to be evident in a group of young men from a Junior Chamber of Commerce. They are well-educated and ranked comparatively high in class indices but did not show especially high levels of aspiration. Compared to the young Evanston groups, what they expressed was a definite orientation toward their community. They were disinclined to leave their friends, to leave their families, to move around the country, or to leave their community. This orientation is not one that is likely to re-

sult in upward social mobility under most circumstances.

As is the case with many investigations into relatively unexplored subject matter, the present study has pointed up the necessity for further directed research and some suggestions for that direction. It is believed that the present framework is useful in that it relates aspirations to an important and meaningful adult situation and thereby allows for comparison. It could be to the advantage of further analysis of social class behavior to study intensively the forces behind the setting of aspiration levels in the class context, and to discover in more detail than was possible here, the effect that such factors as age, past achievements, reference groups, and competing orientations can have upon those levels.

THE CLERGY: AUTHORITY STRUCTURE, IDEOLOGY, MIGRATION *

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WILL clergymen in a congregational-type denomination move from one parish to another more frequently than those in an episcopal-type denomination? ¹

In the congregational-type the clergyman is hired and fired by the parishioners, and the denominational officials are only an employment agency without real authority to intervene. In such an authority structure he should be more willing to move if a higher prestige parish can be obtained. In the episcopal-type the clergyman owes his job to denominational officials, who may or may not consult the wishes of the clergyman or the parishioners. In such a structure he should be more willing to remain in a

parish because his status depends more upon membership in the denomination as a whole and less upon the prestige of the parish.

An authority structure has its appropriate ideology, and this too is a cause of migration. The episcopal leans toward *sacramentalism*—where denominational offices, structure, and rituals are ends in themselves. The congregational leans toward *instrumentalism*—where these things are only instruments or means with no particular sacredness about them.² Therefore congregational authority coupled with instrumentalism should make for greater strains between a clergyman and his parishioners, and should promote frequent migration as a means of relieving these strains.

Also related to the ideologies are characteristic differences in success goals. Under episcopal sacramentalism success means fulfillment of formal ritual duties, conformity to a traditional order, and therefore greater willingness to remain in the same parish;

* Paper read at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Society, September 3-5, 1952.

Grant Chandler, graduate student at Boston University, assisted in the interviewing and in the analysis of the data.

¹ See Myles W. Rodehaver, "Ministers on the Move: A Study of Mobility in Church Leadership," *Rural Sociology*, Vol. 13 (1948), pp. 400-410; and Myles W. Rodehaver and Luke M. Smith, "Migration and Occupational Structure: The Clergy," *Social Forces*, Vol. 29 (1951), pp. 416-421.

² However, authority structure and ideology may vary independently of one another. The Methodist Episcopal Church, with its instrumentalist ideology, is an example.

under congregational instrumentalism it means achievement of a series of goals, such as obtaining parishes of higher prestige.

For purposes of comparative study, the episcopal-type can be generalized as a *bureaucracy*, i.e., control is exercised by the managers; and the congregational-type as an *open market*, i.e., control is exercised by the clients or customers. There is also a tendency toward control by a third set of social positions, the workers, in this case the parish clergy. This type of authority will be called the *professional*. Thus a religious denomination is generalized as a set of social relationships between clients or customers, workers, and managers. About these social positions the authority structure may be institutionalized in a variety of ways, and there may be a certain amount of uninstitutionalized struggle between these positions for control.

This relativity in authority raises the broader problem of the relations between the type of authority and the functions performed by the workers for their clients and the larger society. This problem can be studied better through the clergy than through secular occupations because both the authority structures and the explicit ideologies contrast more sharply than they do in secular occupations.

The study of migration is a means of investigating this broader problem. Other actions in a religious denomination could have been taken; but migration from one parish to another requires considerable effort, and it can be recorded statistically and the amounts and distances in the different denominations compared. It involves relationships between the clergyman and two sets of parishioners, between himself and his fellow workers, and between all these and the officials of the denomination. It causes the severing or at least the weakening of all the clergyman's social relationships in one locality and the making of an entirely new set of relationships elsewhere. Even where there is no migration, there is the problem of the effect of no mobility upon relationships between workers, clients, and managers.

METHOD

A comparison was made between the Protestant Episcopal Church and the Con-

gregational Church. The former is not an extreme episcopal-type, but provides that movement of a clergyman from one parish to another must be by consent of the bishop, the clergyman, and the vestrymen of both parishes. The Congregational Church, however, gives the parish full control over hiring and firing, with denominational officials having no right and little power to influence the administration of parish affairs.

The findings are based on twenty-four interviews of clergymen (twelve Episcopal and twelve Congregational) in a metropolitan area. The schedule contained nearly all open-ended questions. Interviews averaged about one hour and forty-five minutes. The samples of clergymen in each denomination were selected by ordination age periods, beginning with five years after ordination and going up by five year periods to thirty-five years after ordination. In addition clergymen were distributed as evenly as possible among the various parts of the metropolitan area, care being taken to include lower as well as higher income parishes.

FINDINGS

Information, usually by indirect questions, was obtained on the amount and distance of inter-parish migration, how parishes were obtained, religious ideology in the parishes, success goals of the clergymen, and strains occurring in relationships with parishioners.

Clergymen of both denominations moved more frequently during the early years of their careers than later, Congregationalists continued to move during the later years, whereas Episcopalians tended to settle down (Table 1). The finding is according to the hypothesis, but the number of cases involved is under five in the later periods where the denominational differences appeared. Six Episcopal clergymen favored pastorates of more than 10 years, while only one favored shorter pastorates. Congregationalists were non-committal.

Congregational clergymen moved a greater distance than Episcopalians. Fourteen per cent of the thirty-one Episcopal moves were in the same locality, whereas none of the twenty-four Congregational moves were in the same locality. Only 10 per cent of the Episcopal moves crossed state boundaries into the region, whereas 17 per cent of the Congregational moves did so. Comparative

TABLE 1. LENGTH OF PASTORATES

Years Since Ordination	Moves		Clergymen		Moves per Clergyman	
	Episcopal	Congregational	Episcopal	Congregational	Episcopal	Congregational
6-10	12	7	9	6	1.3	1.2
11-15	10	6	8	5	1.2	1.2
16-20	5	3	3	3	1.7	1.0
21-25	0	4	0	4	0.0	1.0
26-30	0	2	0	2	0.0	1.0
31-35	1	0	1	0	1.0	0.0

percentages for no move, same general area, same state, and U. S. elsewhere were about the same. Ten of the twelve Congregationalists stated that a clergyman should leave the same general area when he changes parishes, whereas only half the Episcopal replies favored this rule.

The ways in which the clergymen obtained their parishes showed the differences one would expect to exist between these denominations. In fifty-five Episcopal answers, denominational officials were mentioned 22 times and church boards (vestries) 17 times. In fifty-six Congregational answers, denominational officials were mentioned only 7 times as against 24 mentions of church boards. Congregational clergymen also used such open market means as contacting church boards directly instead of through the denominational employment agency (7 times) and making contacts with laymen not on the boards (5 times). These two means were mentioned by Episcopal clergymen 0 and 1 time respectively.

It has not been possible in the interview answers to distinguish items with such clarity that statistical comparison could be made between the two denominations with respect to sacramentalism and instrumentalism. Impressions of the data supported the hypothesis that Congregationalists were

more instrumentalist, viewing denominational officers, structures, and rituals as means rather than sacred values; whereas Episcopalians were more sacramentalist. It was also the impression that Episcopalians were in transition toward greater instrumentalism, a fact which may help to explain similarities to Congregational clergy in migration and success goals.

Success goals of Episcopal clergymen should, according to the hypothesis, be oriented more toward fulfillment of formal ritual duties, while those of Congregationalists should be oriented toward achievement of a series of goals. This part of the hypothesis was tested by showing the relative prestige of the parishes held by the clergymen during the course of their careers, the reasons given for moving, the meaning of success in each denomination, and the reasons given for entering the clergy.

Relative prestige of the parishes was estimated roughly in terms of size of community and parish, class status of the parish and its reputation in the denomination, and evidence of satisfaction of the clergyman in holding the parish. Nearly every clergyman in both denominations acquired a higher prestige parish each time he moved (Table 2). Objective success in both denominations was the achievement of a series of goals

TABLE 2. RELATIVE PRESTIGE OF PARISHES IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

Parishes in Chronological Order	Status of Parish Relative to That of Preceding Parish							
	Episcopal				Congregational			
	Lower	Same	Higher	Total	Lower	Same	Higher	Total
First	..	..	..	12	..	..	..	12
Second	0	2	9	11	2	0	9	11
Third	1	1	9	11	1	0	9	10
Fourth	2	0	1	3	0	0	1	1
Fifth	0	0	2	2	0	0	0	0
Total	3	3	21	39	3	0	19	34

TABLE 3. SUCCESS GOALS SHOWN IN REASONS FOR MOVING

Reasons for Moving *	Epis- copal	Congre- gational
Financial	2	3
Wider service	5	5
Incompatibility	0	5
Health	0	0
Educational and cultural advantages	4	3
Attraction of larger church	8	8
Lack of denominational cooperation	0	1
Attraction of smaller church	2	0
To enter chaplaincy	1	2
Assistantship to successful pastor	0	2
Church of one's own (after assistantship)	2	2
To get more schooling	1	1
To be near relatives	1	0
Living accommodations	1	0
Dread of staying too long	1	0
Total	28	32

* Based on Myles W. Rodehaver, "Ministers on the Move: A Study of Mobility in Church Leadership," *Rural Sociology*, Vol. 13 (1948), p. 403.

rather than fulfillment of formal ritual duties.

In reasons given for moving, both Episcopal and Congregational clergymen assigned first place to attraction of a larger church and second place to wider service. Congregationalists also gave second place

to incompatibility, whereas no Episcopalian gave this as a reason for moving (Table 3). Both sets of clergymen were oriented toward a series of goals, but the congregational structure encouraged migration as a means of avoiding incompatibility in the parish.

Table 4 shows that both sets of clergymen were equally concerned with pastoral counseling and calling. However, Episcopalians were *bureaucratically* oriented toward obtaining denominational offices and honors, whereas Congregationalists were professionally oriented toward interdenominational and interfaith activities.

Episcopal clergymen were more concerned with improving economic conditions of the parish and with community welfare; Congregationalists more with obtaining loyalty of parishioners to the parish. The Episcopalians were more concerned with obtaining a parish and locality of high prestige. Apparently they moved in order to improve their occupational status and not as a means of relieving the tensions which would more likely arise in a congregational-type parish. On the other hand, in the insecurity of the open market, Congregationalists were more interested in obtaining status in professional organizations of clergymen which cut across denominational lines.

Various meanings of success also appeared

TABLE 4. MEANING OF SUCCESS

Success Goals *	Episcopal	Congregational
A. Technical Goals		
Increasing membership	7	13
Improving economic conditions of parish	15	24
Improving community welfare	14	9
Pastoral counseling and calling	12	22
Loyalty of parishioners to parish	10	22
Religious asceticism	3	0
Changing ideas and practices of parish	1	8
Integration of parish	8	11
B. Occupational Status		
Income	6	3
Church and locality of high prestige	12	18
Denominational offices and honors	26	33
Reputation in secular society	36	42
Education	5	2
Economic security	4	3
Church of one's own	4	2
Inter-faith activities	15	40
Total	177	222

* Based on Talcott Parsons, *Essays in Sociological Theory*, Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1949, Chapter VIII, "The Professions and the Social Structure," pp. 194-195; and Myles W. Rodehaver and Luke M. Smith, "Migration and Occupational Structure: The Clergy," *Social Forces*, vol. 29 (1951), p. 416.

in reasons given for entering the clergy.³ In both denominations the most important reason was early church connections, usually in the family. Sometimes relatives were clergymen, and this reason assumed an equal importance in both denominations (Table 5). Here was an orientation in neither a bureaucratic, an open market, nor a professional direction, but in a traditional one—toward preservation of an existing body of social relationships.

TABLE 5. REASONS FOR ENTERING CLERGY

Reasons	Epis- copal	Congre- gational
Early church connection	12	8
<i>Relatives were clergymen</i>	3	3
Call	2	6
To make personal contacts	3	4
Secular occupation too impersonal	3	3
To give impersonal help to people	4	2
Religious reason	1	1
Prestige	1	1
Income	0	0
Wider life (unqualified)	2	1
Life crisis	1	0
Total	29	26

For the Episcopalians, however, early church connections were relatively far more important than they were for the Congregationalists; and so was the desire to give *impersonal* help to people, but the charismatic call was seldom mentioned. For the Congregationalists the call was frequently mentioned, and so was the desire to make *personal* contacts.

These reasons given for entering the clergy support the hypothesis. Episcopalians were oriented more toward fulfillment of formal ritual duties, were part of a more stable and traditional social structure. Therefore they had less need of a charismatic call and were enabled to direct their attention toward giving impersonal help to people. Congregationalists, depending relatively less upon family background, were oriented toward

achieving a series of goals. Therefore they had more need of legitimization through a charismatic call and, being more insecure in their social relationships, looked upon the ministry as a means of satisfying their desire for making personal contacts.

The replies on relationships with parishioners could not be tabulated statistically, but significant impressions were obtained. In the Episcopal Church, where the clergyman is by canon law actually rector or ruler of his parish, there was little organized opposition to him and little evidence of factionalism in the parish. Such strains as arose were between the rector and *individuals* rather than factions. In the Congregational Church there were many evidences of strain arising between the minister and a faction or between factions.

These strains arose in Congregationalism because the minister has no official backing from the denomination, he is entirely on his own in his parish, and yet his authority is divided and must be shared with the church committee which is elected by the congregation. He does not even have authority to say who may and who may not hold services in his own church. His tenure often depends upon making particularistic relationships, yet in doing so he is in danger of alienating other factions.

Evidence of this lies in the answers to the question, "What do you do about making close friends?" One Episcopal clergyman said that close friends should be made in the parish, 11 said not. No Congregational clergyman favored making close friends in the parish, 3 were indifferent, 9 opposed. In the reasons assigned for their answers, Congregationalists were more aware of the danger of becoming involved in factional struggle in the parish than were Episcopalians.

Another evidence of differential strain lies in the means by which the two sets of clergymen formed social relationships with their parishioners. For the Episcopalians pastoral counseling and calling was of major importance, with church organizations ranking a poor second. The opposite was true for the Congregational clergy (Table 6). Furthermore, only one out of twelve Episcopalians believed that church organizations were the most effective means of getting to

³ The number of alternate occupations for both sets of clergymen was so large and varied that little generalization can be made, except that nearly all were in the professions and business, none in unskilled or semi-skilled work. About two-thirds of both Episcopal and Congregational clergymen had either engaged in or studied for their alternate occupations. Entry into the clergy had for these represented a real choice.

TABLE 6. MEANS OF KNOWING PARISHIONERS

Means	Epis- copal	Congre- gational
Calling and counseling	17	17
Church organizations	9	35
Service of worship	2	1
Ceremonies *	0	3
Community activities	3	0
Knowing the children	2	0
Total	33	56

* Only one check is made for all or any ceremonies.

know their parishioners, whereas the twelve Congregationalists were evenly divided.

These differences in relationships with parishioners now make understandable the different attitudes toward the length of pastorate and the distance to be moved to a new parish. Six of the twelve Episcopal clergymen favored relatively long pastorates, about ten years or more, whereas 10 of the twelve Congregationalists maintained that a clergyman should stay until his job in that parish was done, whether a few years or many—and then move. But what is meant by, "Until the job is done?" The work in the parish continues and is taken up by the next minister. Why does the first one leave? The Congregational attitude implies an instrumentalist view of the clergyman, valued for usefulness in achieving a series of goals rather than as an expression of the sacred intimate values. Furthermore, it is likely that the factional involvement of clergymen requires occasional change as a means of relieving tensions between the factions, and that the high point of these tensions is rationalized as "The job is done."

Ten of the twelve Congregationalists stated that a clergyman should leave the same general area when he moves, but only half of the Episcopalians thought so. Five Episcopalians thought that it made no difference, and two even favored staying in the same general area. Only four Episcopal clergymen gave reasons for the desirability of moving outside the same general area; but ten of the twelve Congregationalists maintained that it was unfair to the successor to have the previous pastor "haunt the parish," officiating at weddings and funerals, answering illness and death calls, and in other ways interfering with attempts

of the successor to obtain undivided loyalty of the parish.

These norms reflect differences in authority structures. The Episcopal rector has full control over any who officiate in his parish, and his rights are protected by canon law and the bishop. The Congregational clergyman, being in an open market, enjoys no such protection. From the insecurities of the open market there arises, not necessarily a movement toward bureaucracy, but an attempt to develop a professional ethic and a professional organization.

AUTHORITY STRUCTURE AND IDEOLOGY AS AFFECTING MIGRATION, SERVICES, AND PROFESSIONAL ORGANIZATION

Institutionalized control of workers by clients instead of managers tends to increase worker migration, to change the services performed for the clients, and to result in an effort toward control by professional organization of the workers.

Migration tends to be increased for three reasons. First, client control develops the institutional possibility of each side breaking the contract without management intervention. Second, such control is related to an instrumentalist ideology in which both sides look upon their relationship as a means rather than an end in itself. Third, absence of management as a third party is likely to leave the client organization torn by factional struggles with control over the worker as an issue, so that migration is a way of preserving the solidarity of the client organization as well as solving the worker's difficulties. Under management control tensions characteristically arise between the worker and individual clients rather than factions, and therefore do not produce migration. There is no evidence that management controlled workers migrate less because they are less interested in occupational success.

Workers under institutionalized management control are more concerned with offering impersonal services to clients; they have less fear that face-to-face contacts will result in personal relationships dangerous to the organization. This is because first, these workers tend to enter the occupation as a matter of secure tradition; second, management itself provides a wider organizational

framework for the clients; and third, the characteristic ideology emphasizes offices, organizational structures, and rituals as ends in themselves rather than transient means.

On the other hand, workers under institutionalized client control are more concerned with making personal contacts with their clients, and they promote formal organization among the clients as means of minimizing the danger of personal relationships. These workers are institutionally compelled to make personal contacts because, often breaking tradition to enter the occupation, they are more insecure. Insecurity also results because of an instrumentalist ideology and the lack of a wider management

organization. However, while the worker under institutionalized client control may be less concerned with performing impersonal services for individuals, his function is to symbolize and legitimize the instrumentalist ideology and practices of his clients—who are also breaking tradition in their occupational lives.

Finally, from the insecurities produced by institutionalized client control without management intervention, and by an instrumentalist ideology, there develops a tendency toward control by the workers through an occupation-wide organization. A problem for future research lies in the effect of this shift toward professional authority upon the services performed for the clients.

SOME SOCIO-PSYCHOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF ADJUSTMENT TO RESIDENCE LOCATION IN THE RURAL- URBAN FRINGE *

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HUMAN ecologists, economists, and others have long been interested in locational activities but have restricted their inquiries almost entirely to the location of cities¹ or industries and other profit seeking concerns.² While some

attention has been given to the differential desirability of the residential areas of the urban community,³ and considerable interest has developed around various social and psychological aspects of housing,⁴ the locational activities of the family remain relatively unexplored.⁵

Locational theory ordinarily emphasizes the economizing aspects of location and the role of land values and rents in bringing about the distribution of units in the area.⁶ In accord with this, it has been said that "human ecology studies the structure of organized activity without respect to the motivations or attitudes of the acting agents."⁷

* Paper read at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Society, September 3-5, 1952. The writer is indebted to his colleague, Dr. John James, for a careful reading of this manuscript and for many helpful suggestions. A more detailed analysis of the data treated here will be found in the monograph, *Rural-Urban Fringe: A Study of Adjustment to Residence Location*, University of Oregon Press, forthcoming.

¹ Edward L. Ullman, "A Theory of Location for Cities," *American Journal of Sociology*, 46 (May, 1941), pp. 853-864; C. H. Cooley, "The Theory of Transportation," *Publications of the American Economic Association*, IX (May, 1894), pp. 1-148; R. D. McKenzie, *The Metropolitan Community*, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1933, Ch. X.

² Alfred Weber, *Theory of the Location of Industry*, trans. C. J. Friedrich, Chicago: University of Chicago, 1928; E. M. Hoover, Jr., *Location Theory and the Shoe and Leather Industries*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1937; Malcolm J. Proudfoot, "The Selection of a Business Site," *Journal of Land and Public Utility Economics*, XIV, 4 (November, 1938), pp. 370-381.

³ Theodore Caplow, "Home Ownership and Location Preferences in a Minneapolis Sample," *American Sociological Review*, XIII, 6 (December, 1948), pp. 725-730.

⁴ The Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues, *The Journal of Social Issues*, VII, 1 and 2 (1951).

⁵ James A. Quinn, *Human Ecology*, New York: Prentice-Hall, 1950, pp. 104-113; Amos H. Hawley, *Human Ecology*, New York: Ronald Press, 1950, pp. 280-287.

⁶ Hawley, *op. cit.*, pp. 280-287.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 179. This is not to be interpreted as a denial by Hawley of the important role played

Undoubtedly this is a legitimate frame of reference for the study of locational behavior—for example, without reference to motivations or attitudes we know that there is taking place a continuing settlement of the unincorporated territory around the urban periphery, and that regular participants in activities at the urban center, regardless of their personal value orientation, do not locate their residences beyond a time-cost distance zone dictated by the state of transportation technology. However, sociologists frequently need to know more than this. What kinds of people are attracted to the rural-urban fringe rather than the centrally located apartment house area or the intermediately located single family residence district? What is the nature of the selective process which results in characteristic differences between the population of these areas in age, sex, and occupational composition? Without denying an important role to such factors as land values we would take the position that emphasis on the economic aspects of residential movement and location tends to minimize critical social and psychological elements involved in the locational process.⁸ Perhaps it is the study of these latter aspects of the locational process and of adjustment to the selected location that offers new understanding of the continually repeated problem of selecting an appropriate residence location for the family.

THE HYPOTHESIS

Locations can be classified in innumerable ways but ecologists have frequently found it fruitful to rank them in terms of ease of access to major points of interaction such as the city center.⁹ For example, in spite of great heterogeneity on many counts, the rural-urban fringe consists of locations lying

by attitudes, sentiments, and motivations. See pp. 179-180.

⁸ This point has been emphasized by Firey who fails, however, to credit ecologists for the awareness they have had of these factors. Walter Firey, "Sentiment and Symbolism as Ecological Variables," *American Sociological Review*, X, 2 (April, 1945), pp. 140-146. Also, Richard M. Hurd, *Principles of City Land Values*, New York: The Record and Guide, 1903, p. 78.

⁹ Robert M. Haig and Roswell C. McCrea, *Major Economic Factors in Metropolitan Growth and Arrangement*, New York: Regional Survey of New York and Its Environs, Vol. I, pp. 38-44.

outside the political city and having in common the characteristics of relatively restricted access to the city center and relatively free access to the garden space and play space of the open country side. The present analysis is limited to this one type of residence location.

The hypothesis proposed is that individuals expressing satisfaction with any given type of residence location will be characterized by common roles and values which differentiate them from those individuals who express dissatisfaction with this location. In the actual testing four aspects of this general hypothesis are considered. These four minor hypotheses and the specific items they comprise are shown in Table 1. Each of thirteen items is analyzed in relationship to attitude toward the rural-urban fringe as a place of residence location. Attitude toward the fringe is considered in terms of scores on an original, Cornell-type scale.¹⁰ The hypothesis of independence is rejected when the computed value of chi-square is sufficiently large to be significant at the 5 per cent level. Evaluation of the general hypothesis remains largely subjective.

SOURCE OF THE DATA

Data which will throw some light on the proposed hypotheses are available for 832 families and individuals¹¹ selected according to area sampling procedures from the rural-urban fringe area shared by Eugene and Springfield, two adjacent, small cities in western Oregon.¹² The 1950 population and the percentage increase over 1940 for Eugene and Springfield respectively are 35,879 (72.2 per cent) and 10,807 (184.0 per cent).¹³ The fringe population of around 30,000 has

¹⁰ Technically this is a quasi-scale since reproducibility is .86. For construction details see Martin, *op. cit.* The scores which are all even numbered range from 0 to 20 and for testing purposes are grouped in roughly equal-sized categories: low, 0-12; medium, 14-16; high, 18-20.

¹¹ This is approximately an 11 per cent sample. See Martin, *op. cit.*

¹² Although this population is not represented here as a "typical" fringe population the motivations behind fringe location do not appear to vary drastically from those elicited from fringe dwellers elsewhere.

¹³ Bureau of the Census, *1950 Census of the Population, Advance Reports*, Series PC-8, No. 36, August 10, 1951.

TABLE 1. CHI SQUARE VALUES FOR SELECTED FACTORS RELATED TO ATTITUDE TOWARD THE RURAL-URBAN FRINGE¹

Hypothesis	Degrees of Freedom	χ^2 at P95	Sex	Computed χ^2	χ^2 /d.f.
A. Rural-urban values					
1. Last residence rural or urban	2	5.99	Male	6.04	3.02*
			Female	.79	.40
2. 1941 residence rural or urban	2	5.99	Male	6.83	3.42*
			Female	9.22	4.61*
3. Childhood residence rural or urban	2	5.99	Male	3.98	1.99
			Female	4.18	2.09
4. Presence of family garden	2	5.99	Male	22.13	11.06*
			Female	22.79	11.40*
B. Functional roles					
5. Sex	2	5.99	Both	12.50	6.25*
6. Age	8	15.51	Male	9.78	1.22
			Female	4.72	.59
7. Occupation	8	15.51	Male	16.01	2.00*
			Female	11.17	1.40
C. Transportation and communication					
8. Availability of telephone, automobile, and bus	4	9.49	Male	1.84	.46
			Female	11.45	2.86*
D. Socio-economic status					
9. Social status score	8	15.51	Male	12.05	1.51
			Female	21.41	2.68*
10. Family income	8	15.51	Male	5.50	.69
			Female	13.25	1.66
11. Monthly rental	2	5.99	Male	.91	.46
			Female	6.85	3.42*
12. Cooking facilities	2	5.99	Male	.09	.04
			Female	14.91	7.46*
13. Bath and toilet facilities	2	5.99	Male	.35	.18
			Female	6.38	3.42*

* Significant at the 5 per cent level.

¹ There appears to be no adequate measure of the degree of relationship where chi-square tests have shown a significant amount of relationship. The last column (χ^2 /d.f.) of Table 1, however, shows the size of chi-square in each test relative to the number of degrees of freedom. See Wilfrid J. Dixon and Frank J. Massey, Jr., *Introduction to Statistical Analysis*, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1951, p. 309.

grown even more rapidly than the urban populations.

HYPOTHESES AND RESULTS

A. *Attitude toward the rural-urban fringe is not significantly related to the type of residential location to which the individual was conditioned in earlier life.* Data are available on three propositions: whether the childhood residences were predominantly urban, predominantly rural, or equally rural and urban; whether the last previous residence was rural or urban; and whether the residence in 1941 (Pearl Harbor Day) was rural or urban. These categories are obviously crude and dependent on recollection over rather long periods of time. It is therefore particularly impressive to find that for

males and for females independently these categories tend to be associated consistently and, without exception, positively to scores on the attitude scale. As seen in Table 1, in only three of the six tests can the null hypothesis be rejected. The consistently positive nature of the relationship in all six of the contingency tables serves to strengthen this rejection, however.

Further light is cast on the nature of the fringe adjustment pattern by examining the role of gardening in relation to satisfaction with the fringe area. About one-third of the families in the sample reported they had no garden with the possible exception of flowers during the past year. Relating the presence or absence of a garden to attitude scores reveals a consistently positive and statistically

significant relationship for both males and females. Apparently maintaining a vegetable garden is a very important part of the fringe pattern of living and non-conformity in this respect tends to be related to the more general lack of adjustment. However, the distinction between this set of values and farming is made clear by the fact that only 10 per cent of the families reported the sale of any product of their land during the past year.

B. *Attitude toward the rural-urban fringe is not significantly related to functional roles.* Since differentiation of roles on the basis of sex is particularly striking¹⁴ it might be expected that males and females would differ in their evaluation of location desirability. For representative samples of males and females the proposition that attitude toward residence in the rural-urban fringe is not significantly related to sex can be rejected on the basis of the computed chi-square of 12.5. Space does not allow lengthy quotations bearing out the greater dissatisfaction of female fringe dwellers but substantiating evidence is plentiful.¹⁵ These findings are not surprising considering that the daily routine is liable to take the husband and the family automobile into the community leaving the wife more or less confined to the premises by lack of transportation.

Since roles also vary markedly with age,¹⁶ the proposition is tested that attitude toward the rural-urban fringe is not significantly related to age. While the computed value of chi-square is not large enough either for males or for females to permit rejecting the hypothesis, it is worth noting that for males and for females a very similar curvilinear relationship is evidenced with the peak of high scores found among males in their forties and females in their thirties. This

suggests that whatever the irritations of fringe residence may be, younger and older adults tend to be more sensitive to them than those in their thirties and forties, although possibly for quite different reasons.

Some of the individual's most stable and characteristic behavior patterns are built up around the function he performs in the division of labor complex. The proposition of no relationship between occupational class and attitude score is tested for males and females separately, using in each case the Bureau of the Census categories for the occupation of the head of the house. Chi-square approaches significance for females but the hypothesis can be rejected only for males. In both contingency tables the small number of farmers and farm managers have fewer low scores than expected theoretically; service, farm, and other unskilled workers have a surplus of low scores; craftsmen, foremen, operatives and skilled workers tend to have high scores. Where the chief breadwinner is classified as professional worker, proprietor, or manager, males tend to score low while females tend to score high.

In evaluating the hypothesis of roles it would seem that the data provide much more support for the rejection of the idea of no relationship to attitudes than they provide basis for acceptance.

C. *Attitude toward the rural-urban fringe is not significantly related to the availability during the day of transportation and communication facilities.* Since the woman's role is more likely to isolate her in the home it might be expected that women would be more sensitive than men to communication needs. To test this idea all homes in the sample were classified according to whether none or one, any two, or all three of the following were readily available during the day: a telephone in the home, an automobile, and a bus within one-quarter mile of the home. For females but not for males the relationship of these categories to attitude scores is consistently positive and significant at the 5 per cent level. Not all of our data support this rejection of the null hypothesis—for example, attitude scores do not vary consistently with the time required to travel from the residence to the downtown area—but, in general, comments of women residents corroborate this finding.

¹⁴ E. T. Hiller, *Social Relations and Social Structures*, New York: Harper and Brothers, 1947, Ch. 29.

¹⁵ For example, when respondents were asked about family members getting the "greatest pleasure and satisfaction" out of fringe residence, the wife was mentioned singly 38 times and the husband 89 times or two and a third times as frequently. In response to a question about family members feeling "the most inconvenienced and dissatisfied" about fringe residence, the husband was named singly 30 times and the wife 152 times or five times as frequently.

¹⁶ Hiller, *op. cit.*, Chs. 23-25.

D. *Attitude toward the rural-urban fringe is not significantly related to the socio-economic status of the family.* If the different daily roles of the sexes tends to make fringe residence a place of isolation for women, it should follow that conditions in the home would be more important to the woman than to her husband spending his daylight hours in the city. The following tests were made:

(1) One measure of household conditions, Chapin's Social Status Scale,¹⁷ takes into consideration only the living room but probably reflects the general living situation. Attitude scores and social status scores were both available for 246 males and 317 females. When the status scores are combined into four categories¹⁸ and related to attitude scores the relationship is positive in each case. Chi-square approaches significance for males but the null hypothesis can be rejected only for females.

(2) Family income should also reflect to some extent the type of residence and the way it is furnished and equipped. When the hypothesis is set up that attitude toward the rural-urban fringe is not significantly related to income of families, the data cast some doubt on the hypothesis but do not make it possible to reject it. That is, chi-square is not large enough to be significant but for males and for females the relationship is consistently positive, a fact suggesting further exploration.

(3) Another proposition is that the amount of rent paid is not significantly related to attitude toward the fringe area.¹⁹ When rents are dichotomized as less than or more than the median, the relationship is consistently positive for both males and females but chi-square values permit rejecting the null hypothesis only in the case of females.

(4) Attitude toward the rural-urban fringe is not significantly related to the type of cooking facility in the home. Twenty-seven

per cent of the homes in the sample use wood and coal ranges. When homes are dichotomized on this basis, attitude scores for males seem to be independent of the type of cooking facility, while the chi-square value for women is significant considerably beyond the 5 per cent level.

(5) In 17.5 per cent of the homes neither bathtub, shower nor inside flush toilet was available. With families classified as having none or some of these three facilities, the hypothesis of no relationship to attitude scores again is rejected for females but not for males.

In summary, in four out of five socio-economic status factors the relationship to attitude toward the rural-urban fringe was significant for females but not for males. In addition, it will be recalled that where the head of the house is classified as professional worker, proprietor or manager, males tend to get low scores, females tend to get high scores.

CONCLUSIONS

The following findings are listed:

(1) Previous habituation to non-urban types of residence tends to be associated with favorable attitudes toward the rural-urban fringe as a place of residence.

(2) Maintenance of a family garden by fringe dwellers is indicative of general satisfactory adjustment to residence location in the fringe.

(3) Males are more likely than females to be satisfied with the fringe as a place of residence.

(4) Fringe residence may be a less satisfactory location for young and for elderly adults than it is for those in their thirties and forties.

(5) Occupational groups tend to differ in their evaluation of the fringe area as a place of residence.

(6) For females but not for males attitude toward the rural-urban fringe tends to vary with socio-economic status.

(7) For females but not for males, attitude toward the fringe tends to vary with the availability in the home of transportation and communication facilities.

The evidence presented is not completely free of discrepancies and inconsistencies, but, in general, the major working hypothesis

¹⁷ F. Stuart Chapin, *The Social Status Scale*, 1936 revision, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1936; also *Experimental Design in Sociological Research*, New York: Harper and Brothers, 1947.

¹⁸ The categories are 0-49, 50-99, 100-149, 150 or more.

¹⁹ An effort was made to obtain the value of the home but the results do not seem to be a valid representation of this complex phenomenon.

seems to be tenable: adjustment of individuals to residence in the fringe area, and inferentially to attraction of the area for them, can be understood principally in terms of socio-psychological factors rather than the economizing nature of the location.

This conclusion is borne out by the fact that our sample of rural-urban fringe residents does not in general regard the fringe as an economizing location. When asked to name the major reason for choosing fringe location only 12.8 per cent or 107 of the

informants listed economy factors such as cheaper land, lower rents, lower taxes, and freedom from building restrictions. Informal comments also showed considerable agreement in rejecting the idea of the fringe as an inexpensive place of residence.²⁰

²⁰ There is essential agreement between our findings and those reported in Richard Dewey, "Peripheral Expansion in Milwaukee County," *American Journal of Sociology*, LIV, 2 (September, 1948), p. 121.

SOME ASPECTS OF MIGRATION IN THE TENNESSEE VALLEY *

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THE process of migration is not as well understood as some of the other population processes. This is partly because empirical data on which to base studies has been available for only a few countries. There remains much to be learned about the amount of migration, the characteristics of migrants, and the causes for migration. This paper is concerned indirectly with the causes for migration.

There are two general approaches to the study of causes of migration. One is the direct approach, which typically asks a small sample of migrants why they moved. A good example of this approach is Kiser's *Sea Island to City*.¹

Another approach, the one used in this paper, is to correlate characteristics of areas with rates of migration to the areas, to see what characteristics of an area are related to migration into the area. Even if we find

a high positive relationship between some characteristics of areas (for example, mean income, or number of hospitals per 100,000 population, or mean annual temperature) and the rates of migration to areas, this does not enable us to infer causation. However it does provide partial information which can be supplemented by additional sample studies of migrants' motives and by other correlational studies until we some day will have an adequate picture of the forces which affect the amount of migration, and the relative strengths of the various goals of migration.

THE HYPOTHESES

It is within this framework that the present study was conceived. Three different hypotheses which relate economic and demographic characteristics of areas to population movements were tested. The data consisted of special subregional tabulations of migration in the state of Tennessee. These tabulations are described in an article by Thompson and Bogue.² Figure 1 shows the subregions (four metropolitan and six rural) of Tennessee. The following hypotheses were tested:

- (1) Zipf's P_1P_2/D hypothesis.

* Paper read at the annual meeting of the American Statistical Association, Boston, December 1951.

The investigation reported here was made possible by a research fellowship in the Institute for Research in Social Science, University of North Carolina. This is part of a larger study of migration in the Tennessee Valley that was made for the Tennessee Valley Authority.

¹ Clyde V. Kiser, *Sea Island to City: A Study of St. Helena Islanders in Harlem and Other Urban Centers*. New York: Columbia University Publications in History, Economics, and Public Law No. 368, 1932.

² Warren S. Thompson and Donald J. Bogue, "Subregional Migration as an Area of Research," *Social Forces*, XXVII (May, 1949), pp. 392-400.

(2) The hypothesis that net migration between any two areas is directly proportional to differences in level of living and inversely proportional to the distance between the two areas.

(3) Stouffer's hypothesis that migration is directly proportional to the number of opportunities and inversely proportional to the number of intervening opportunities, using two different definitions of opportunities. The definition of what constitutes an intervening area was modified somewhat in this study.

MIGRATION, POPULATION, AND DISTANCE

Zipf's P_1P_2/D hypothesis³ states that the amount of interchange between two areas is directly proportional to the product of the population in the two areas, and inversely proportional to the distance between them. This formula considers only the relation between migration, population, and distance, without introducing any variables which could be considered as goals of migration. Distance and population size are usually variables which we want to control while observing the relation between migration and some other variable which might logically be considered as a goal of migration. But in this first test we will observe the relationship between distance, population size, and migration, ignoring other variables.

THE METHOD

In Tennessee we have ten subregions, which gives us 45 different pairs of subregions. Distance was measured between the approximate geographic center of each subregion, and population size was obtained from the 1940 census. For each pair of subregions the expected interchange (number of migrants in both directions between the two subregions) was computed from Zipf's formula for all 45 pairs of subregions. The comparison of expected and observed interchange is shown in Table 1. The observed interchange correlated with the expected interchange .814. This indicates a good agreement between the pattern of observed and expected migration in Tennessee.

³ George K. Zipf, "The P_1P_2/D Hypothesis: On the Intercity Movement of Persons," *American Sociological Review*, XI (December, 1946), pp. 677-86.

MIGRATION AND LEVEL LIVING

The second hypothesis tested was:

Net rates of migration between any two subregions will be directly proportional to differences in level of living and inversely proportional to the distance between the subregions.

A study by Mangus and McNamara⁴ found that this hypothesis was partly true of the state of Ohio, but their methodology and data were different from those of the present study. This hypothesis attempts a more difficult prediction than Zipf's. It predicts both the net amount of migration and the direction of net movement. Distance was measured in the same way as in the test of P_1P_2/D , that is, straight line distance between the approximate geographic center of each subregion. Theoretically distance should be measured from the center of population, but this is very difficult to determine accurately, and the measure of distance that was actually used is probably as accurate as the measurement of the other variables involved in testing the hypothesis.

The measure of level of living that was used was the percentage of the employed population of the subregion making income tax returns. This has certain defects as a measure of level of living, but most of the other indices available to measure level of living for an area as a whole seem to have as many or more defects. It is admittedly a very crude measure of level of living. The difference in percentage of income tax returns between each pair of subregions was computed and divided by the distance between them. The resulting figure was multiplied by a constant chosen to make the sum of the expected rates (as these figures are called) and the sum of the observed rates the same. The observed rates are defined as the net movement between two subregions divided by the 1940 population of both subregions.

There are two ways of looking at these expected rates. The first is the extent to which the expected rates predict the observed rates for any specific pair of sub-

⁴ A. R. Mangus and Robert L. McNamara, *Levels of Living and Population Movements in Rural Areas in Ohio, 1930-40*. Wooster, Ohio: Ohio Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin 639, March 1943.

regions. There are large differences between expected and observed rates for a number of subregions. Sometimes one rate is over ten times the size of the other. A chi-square test is not necessary to say that the differences between expected and observed rates are significant. In general the theory underestimates the observed rates for short distance migrants and for migrants between

(See Table 2). The fourth case, the migration from Subregion A to Subregion Five, is in the opposite direction because there is a large migration from Memphis in Subregion A to an institution in Subregion Five.

The correlation between expected and observed net rates for all 45 pairs of subregions is .745. The expected rates for contiguous pairs of subregions are smaller than

TABLE 1. OBSERVED INTERCHANGE * AND EXPECTED INTERCHANGE ** OF MIGRANTS BETWEEN EACH PAIR OF SUBREGIONS IN TENNESSEE ***

Pairs of Subregions	Expected Interchange	Observed Interchange	Pairs of Subregions	Expected Interchange	Observed Interchange
A-1	4878	11,753	D-1	739	418
A-2	950	333	D-2	341	129
A-3	1309	437	D-3	811	259
A-4	651	194	D-4	757	295
A-5	398	160	D-5	964	1040
A-6	1466	439	D-6	16,860	12,397
A-B	1061	1600	1-2	2552	1927
A-C	560	376	1-3	2841	1038
A-D	423	477	1-4	1285	375
B-1	2426	1801	1-5	736	206
B-2	1860	3600	1-6	2534	689
B-3	7300	11,663	2-3	2358	3799
B-4	1849	2557	2-4	725	322
B-5	830	381	2-5	364	138
B-6	2264	1100	2-6	1138	297
B-C	949	1198	3-4	2619	6163
B-D	1007	981	3-5	1024	271
C-1	934	348	3-6	2762	636
C-2	491	126	4-5	1058	2559
C-3	1316	534	4-6	2592	816
C-4	1357	941	5-6	2947	4414
C-5	1162	1666			
C-6	2623	4543			
C-D	718	1382	Total	86,788	86,788

* Observed Interchange is the total number of migrants in both directions who move between the subregions of the pair.

** Expected Interchange is determined by computing the ratio of P_1P_2/D and multiplying this by a constant to make the expected total equal the observed total.

*** Source: Special Census Tabulations of Subregional Migration.

metropolitan subregions, and overestimates the rates for the long distance moves.

The second way of looking at the data is to consider the extent to which the expected rates form a pattern which is like the pattern of the observed rates of migration, even though in specific cases the two rates may be quite different. When we take this approach, we find that the direction of net migration is the same for observed and expected rates for all but 4 of the 45 pairs of subregions. Three of the cases where expected and observed migration are in opposite directions are between subregions which have very small differences in levels of living

the observed rates for 10 out of the 11 pairs of contiguous subregions. Apparently there are a number of short distance moves that are not accounted for by the formula. The correlation between expected and observed rates for non-contiguous subregions is .814. Our theory fits the data a little better when the short distance moves are removed from the analysis.

There is another method of computing the expected rates. The sum of the expected rates can be made equal to the sum of the observed rates for the migrants from each subregion to the other nine subregions. For example, the sum of the expected rates of

TABLE 2. OBSERVED NET RATES * AND EXPECTED NET RATE *** OF MIGRATION BETWEEN EACH PAIR OF SUBREGIONS IN TENNESSEE ****

Pairs of Subregions	Expected Rate	Observed Rate	Pairs of Subregions	Expected Rate	Observed Rate
A-1**	.9543	4.6166	D-1	.2635	.0442
A-2	.5720	.1107	D-2	.3722	.0552
A-3	.4012	.0856	D-3	.4223	.0514
A-4	.3742	.0253	D-4	.6923	.0509
A-5	.2936	-.1606	D-5	1.0540	.7107
A-6	.1909	.0030	D-6**	2.2080	2.7395
A-B	-.0208	-.3642	1-2**	.0468	.4399
A-C	.0125	.0520	1-3	-.0342	-.4109
A-D	.0436	.0877	1-4	.0374	-.0475
B-1	.6675	.7728	1-5	.0000	.0625
B-2**	1.3972	2.5721	1-6	-.0795	-.1935
B-3	1.8993	2.4513	2-3**	-.1965	-1.6814
B-4	1.4346	1.7765	2-4	.2245	-.0166
B-5	.8009	.4106	2-5	-.2674	.0980
B-6	.4358	.2340	2-6	-.1269	-.0789
B-C	.0674	.3936	3-4**	.1684	1.3579
B-D	.1203	.1126	3-5	.0515	.1987
C-1	.3668	.1235	3-6	-.1068	-.0085
C-2	.6424	.1561	4-5**	-.1497	-2.0866
C-3	.8654	.3279	4-6	-.2507	-.1790
C-4	1.3224	.8880	5-6**	-.3181	-.2047
C-5**	1.2225	1.6188			
C-6**	.6783	1.2722	Total	19.764	19.764
C-D	1.0104	1.2961			

* Rates per thousand population in both subregions of each pair added together, minus sign indicates net out-migration from the subregion listed first in the pair.

** Contiguous subregions.

*** Expected rates computed from the hypothesis that migration is directly proportional to levels of living in inversely proportional to distance.

**** Source: Special Census Tabulations of Subregional Migration.

migration between Tennessee subregion A and each of the other nine subregions can be considered as a unit, and the sum of expected and observed net migration can be made equal for just this group of net rates. A correlation coefficient can be computed on these nine pairs of observations.

If we go through the procedure described above for all ten subregions we will use each net rate twice, but we can compute a correlation coefficient between the expected and observed migration between any subregion and all the others in Tennessee. In this way we can determine the subregions where theoretical and observed patterns are most alike. These correlations are shown in column three of Table 3.

Subregions A and C which are on the edge of the state showed more deviation from expectation than did subregions B or D which are more centrally located. Examination of the net migration rates for Memphis (Subregion A) to other subregions indicated that the number of migrants fell

TABLE 3. CORRELATION BETWEEN EXPECTED AND OBSERVED MIGRANTS, AND BETWEEN EXPECTED AND OBSERVED MIGRATION RATES, USING TWO DEFINITIONS OF OPPORTUNITIES, AND EXPECTED RATES PROPORTIONAL TO LEVEL OF LIVING, FOR SUBREGIONS IN TENNESSEE

Subregion	Opportunities Defined by Number of In-Migrants to Subregion	Opportunities Defined by Population Pressure in Each Subregion	Net Migration Directly Proportional to Level of Living and Inversely Proportional to Distance
A	.982	.937	.797
B	.980	.820	.932
C	.928	.890	.811
D	.990	.925	.964
1	.878	.921	.811
2	.963	.915	.642
3	.976	.935	.927
4	.971	.973	.306
5	.854	.766	.714
6	.869	.872	.974
Total			.745

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off rapidly as the distance from Memphis increased. The data for Memphis were re-computed, using the hypothesis that migration was directly proportional to differences in the level of living and inversely proportional to the square of the distance. This increased the correlation between expected and observed rates from .797 to .949. This *ex post facto* revision of the hypothesis indicates that migration falls off more rapidly as distance increases for some streams of migration. This suggests that if two areas are in different economic regions the relationship between distance and number of migrants may be different from the relationship within an economically integrated area.

We can make two conclusions about our hypothesis. If we want to predict the migration rate between any two subregions the formula does not provide accurate results. However, it does provide a good means for describing the general pattern of migration between Tennessee subregions, even though expected and observed rates are quite different for some streams.

OPPORTUNITIES AND INTERVENING OPPORTUNITIES

One probable cause of deviations from the formula that has just been described is the effect of adjacent or intervening areas on the migration between two subregions. We hypothesized that migration would be directly proportional to differences in level of living in the subregion of origin and destination. This takes no account of the level of living in any of the adjacent subregions. These levels probably affect the choice of destination that the migrant makes. Even though a particular subregion has a relatively high level of living, if it is surrounded by subregions which are higher it may not be very attractive for migrants. Stouffer's hypothesis provides a means for the analysis of migration between a group of areas which takes into account the relationship between areas as well as the distance between them. His hypothesis states that:

... the number of persons going a given distance is directly proportional to the number of opportunities at that distance, and inversely proportional to the number of intervening opportunities.⁵

⁵ Samuel A. Stouffer, "Intervening Opportuni-

This hypothesis does not postulate any specific relation between the number of migrants and distance, as was used in our preceding hypotheses, but makes the number of migrants a function of the distribution of opportunities. (If there were a perfectly even distribution of opportunities then the number of migrants going a given distance would be inversely proportional to the distance of that place from the origin.)

There have been several tests of the hypothesis previously⁶ but all have used a definition of opportunities in an area based on the number of in-migrants to the area. For example in the original test of the hypothesis by Stouffer, the following definition of opportunities was used:

For a white family leaving a dwelling in rental group K in tract X, the number of opportunities in tract Y is proportional to the total number of white families, whatever their place of origin, moving to dwellings in rental group K within tract Y.⁷

This type of definition assumes a relationship between migration and opportunities (it assumes that migration measures opportunities) in defining opportunities, and then attempts to find a relationship between migration and opportunities. A measure of opportunities in the subregions of Tennessee was developed which was independent of migration. This measure has been named the index of population pressure and is constructed in the following manner:

The number of gainful workers in 1930 in the area of each subregion was subtracted from the number in the labor force in 1940 in the same subregion (this ignores differences due to the change in concept from gainful worker to labor force). This gives a measure of the increase in the number in

ties: A Theory Relating Mobility and Distance," *American Sociological Review*, V (December, 1940), p. 846.

⁶ Margaret L. Bright and Dorothy Thomas, "Interstate Migration and Intervening Opportunities," *American Sociological Review*, VI (December, 1941), pp. 773-783.

Eleanor C. Isbell, "Internal Migration in Sweden and Intervening Opportunities," *American Sociological Review*, IX (December, 1944), pp. 827-39.

Fred L. Strodbeck, "Equal Opportunity Intervals: A Contribution to the Method of Intervening Opportunity Analysis," *American Sociological Review*, XIV (August, 1949), pp. 490-97.

⁷ Stouffer, *op. cit.* p. 856.

the labor force in the decade. From this is subtracted the population 5-14 in 1930 as the group which would be entering the labor force in 1935-40, and which the migrants entering the area would have to compete with. The resulting figure was divided by the number in the labor force in 1940. This was done for each subregion in Tennessee (and a number of subregions in other states). The index is coded so that a low number indicates low population pressure and relatively greater opportunities. For this study the index was inverted by subtracting it from a constant so that an area of low population pressure would be represented as having a relatively large number of opportunities. This gives a relative, rather than absolute

as defined, take no account of direction of movement.⁸

Briefly the method used was as follows:

The number of opportunities in each subregion was defined first as proportional to the number of within-state in-migrants to the subregion and second as proportional to the index of population pressure in the subregion. After opportunities were defined in these two ways the rest of the changes in the method were the same for both definitions.

First, in Tennessee (See Figure 1) the rural subregions cover the state, dividing it into six vertical strips, with four metropolitan subregions dispersed within and between them. Thus migration between sub-

FIGURE 1. Tennessee Subregions



Legend. Letters indicate metropolitan subregions.
Numerals indicate rural subregions.

measure of job opportunities in each subregion. There are a number of defects in the index which makes our test of the hypothesis less precise than it might be. In addition to our population pressure definition of opportunities, opportunities were also defined as in previous studies, by the total number of in-migrants from all other parts of Tennessee, to the area.

One other modification in the original hypothesis was made to take direction of movement into account. According to the original formulation of the hypothesis, all opportunities in any direction between the origin and destination of a migrant were considered as intervening. Both Stouffer and Bright and Thomas indicated that if direction were taken into account the correspondence between theory and observations would be improved. Stouffer states:

The principal discrepancies arise, as would be expected by anyone familiar with the process of city growth, because opportunities,

regions in Tennessee is largely an east to west or west to east movement. For a person leaving Subregion Three, in the middle of the state, and going to Subregion Six the opportunities in Subregion One in the opposite direction are not intervening, and were not counted as intervening. Second, it is about as easy to travel to one contiguous subregion as to another, even though the center of one contiguous subregion may be further from the origin than the center of another contiguous subregion. Therefore the following rules were used in determining intervening opportunities:

(1) All subregions which were contiguous with the subregion of origin are considered equi-distant from the subregion of origin.

(2) All contiguous subregions are considered as intervening between any non-contiguous subregions.

(3) Non-contiguous subregions in the op-

⁸ Stouffer, *op. cit.* p. 865.

posite direction from the subregion of origin are not considered as intervening. All subregions in the same direction between the origin and destination of migration are considered as intervening, plus any other subregions which are contiguous with the subregion of origin.

(4) Subregion B was considered the same distance as Subregion Three, and Subregion D was considered the same distance as Subregion Six.

The use of bands of width dx (25 miles for example) was considered, but was discarded because this would involve considering some contiguous subregions as intervening for migration to other contiguous subregions. Further, when we consider migration only in one direction, a precise measure of distance is not needed to determine whether or not a subregion is intervening. A few special rules may be necessary (for example rule 4 above) but usually the relative distance from the origin can be determined by inspection.

The principal conclusions were as follows. Neither of these definitions of opportunities provides an adequate prediction of the specific number of out-migrants from any subregion to any other. The expected number of migrants in each stream of migration was computed for both definitions of opportunities and compared with the actual number of out-migrants. In 39 out of 90 cases the expected migrants based on the migration definition of opportunities were either more than twice as large or less than half as large as the observed number of migrants. Using the population pressure definition of opportunities, the expected migrants are either more than twice as large or less than half as large as the observed migrants in 32 out of 90 cases. Most of the streams which were predicted poorly by one definition of opportunities were predicted poorly by the other definition. In 28 out of the 90 cases, by both formulas, the expected number of migrants was either more than twice as large or less than half as large as the observed number of migrants.

The migration definition of opportunities was closer to the observed number than the population pressure definition in 51 out of the 90 cases. However, as indicated above,

the migration definition was more frequently different by large amounts.

Both definitions failed to come close to predicting the actual number of migrants between a number of specific pairs of subregions. Both were very good in reproducing the general pattern of migration. The correlation between expected and observed out-migrants for both definitions of opportunities for the migration from each subregion to every other subregion is found in columns one and two of Table 3. The migration definition of opportunities provides a better fit than the population pressure definition in all of the metropolitan and three of the rural subregions. Both of the intervening opportunity formulas provided higher correlations than the formula based on distance and level of living, although the latter provided the highest correlation for Subregion Six and higher correlations than the population pressure formula for Subregions B and C.

SUMMARY

It can be concluded that both intervening opportunity definitions provide a very good description of the patterns of migration between the subregions of Tennessee. The use of a definition of opportunities based on population pressure provides nearly as good a fit as the definition based on the number of in-migrants, and does not require us to assume any relationship between migration and opportunities before testing the hypothesis.

On the basis of these investigations we can give some specifications for a more adequate approach to the study of motivation in migration.

First, we must have better measures of the characteristics of areas which are "opportunities" or "goals" of migration. This study focused on the economic definition of opportunities, but it should be possible to measure the orientation to other characteristics of areas such as climate, provision of social services, and the like. It will probably never be possible to distinguish between the city as economic opportunity and the city as a "way of life" but we may be able to measure several different components of the attractiveness of urban existence.

Second, we must study the attractiveness of areas for different subgroups of the population. A classification by age might reveal some interesting differences in correlations for old people as compared with young, or family heads as compared with single people. By proper subclassification we may be able to isolate groups with relatively homogeneous motivation for migration which should lead to higher correlations between migration and the characteristics of areas. The best basis for classifying migrants would be their motives for migrating, and it is hoped that data on the motive for migration will some day be available on a large sample basis.⁹

⁹ For examples of the type study needed see Bureau of the Census, *Current Population Reports*

Third, we must have some way of representing the characteristics of an area relative to the characteristics of surrounding areas, for this is the type of assessment made by the migrant in choosing a destination. Stouffer's hypothesis does this, but there may be other ways of representing the relations of one area to another that are even more effective.

Finally, we need to continue sample studies where migrants are questioned about their reasons for migration and their perceptions of the migration process. From data of this type we can develop mathematical abstractions that more adequately represent the process of migration.

Series P-20, No. 4, October 7, 1947; which classifies migrants by reason for moving.

THE ANCIENT SWISS COOPERATIVE COMMUNITY

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THE purpose of this paper is to analyze, in terms of the writer's theory of groups,¹ the development, organization, and dynamics of a cooperative mountain community in Switzerland (called Cooperative Section for reasons explained in the analysis) and to inquire into possible causes of its structural and dynamic changes. The methods of gathering data were: field observation by intensive interviewing of members of the community; study of literature covering the subject, mainly of a legal and economic character; consultations with competent persons on the subject; and study of documents.² Members of the community

were very cooperative, thanks to an introduction by Professor Liebeskind, and in spite of proverbial reserve of the Swiss mountaineers. But no data on personal friendships were obtained. Religious, scholastic, and other cultural aspects of the community were not touched on at all.

The sample of population interviewed was about 3 per cent. To make it as representative as possible, age, location of dwellings, occupation, economic status, and leadership in the community were taken into consideration. After this sample had been interviewed,

* The writer is especially indebted to Professor W. Liebeskind of the University of Geneva Law Faculty, without whose advice and support this study would have been impossible. Thanks are also due to members of the Muhlehorn community who so willingly gave their time for interviews with the writer.

¹ V. Cervinka, "A Dimensional Theory of Groups," *Sociometry*, Vol. 11 (1948), Nos. 1-2.

² Among the useful sources are the following: *Wirtschaftsplan fuer die Waldungen des Tagwens und der Genossame Muhlehorn*, 1949-63; E. Bruttin, *Essais sur le statut juridique des consortages d'alpage valaisans*, Sion: Imprimerie commerciale, 1931; J. Hösli, *Glärner Land- und Alpwirtschaft*,

Glarus: Tschudi and Company, 1948; B. Kolbener, *Die Privatkorporationsalpen in Appenzell*, Appenzell: 1942; E. Ramser and E. Tschumi, *Alpwirtschaft*, Frauenfeld: Huber and Company, 1949; J. A. Strahan and J. S. Baxter, *Law of Property*, London: Stevens and Sons, 1919; H. Infield, *Cooperative Living in Palestine*, New York: Dryden Press, 1944; J. Staehli, H. Thuerer, and K. Freuler, *Glärner Heimatbuch*, Glarus: 1950; J. W. Eaton, "The Group Farm," *Cooperative Living*, Vol. 3 (Spring, 1952), No. 3; "Zusammengehörigkeit der Tagwen und der in ihnen gestifteten Genossamen," *Zeitschrift fuer schweizerisches Recht* (1866), p. 24; and "Identität von Ortsbürger- und Genossenrecht," *Zeitschrift fuer schweizerisches Recht* (1866), p. 25; S. C. Dodd, *Systematic Social Science*, Beirut: American University of Beirut, 1949.

it was felt that further interviewing would not contribute any additional information.

LOCATION OF THE COMMUNITY AND ITS DEVELOPMENT PRIOR TO 1887

The Muhlehorn village (present population 631, area 946 hectares) is situated at the foot of the Kerenzen mountain, south of the Walensee in the canton of Glarus, in central Switzerland. The organization of the Muhlehorn community is still interwoven with that of the neighboring village of Obstdalden (present population 497, area 2349 hectares), situated at the top of the mountain, above Muhlehorn. In certain respects, therefore, the organization of the two villages has to be considered jointly.

Historical Development of the Peasant Economy. Although the community is now more industrial than rural, its organizational core is still of a rural-tribal character, which originated at the time of cattle, pasture, and forest economy. A few words therefore must be said about its development.

Until the industrial revolution, cattle farming was the main occupation of the whole population, and it still is for two-thirds of the farmers. Owing to the topography of the region, land-farming has never developed much beyond gardening. Cattle farming depended, and still depends, on *allmend* and *alp* economy, which are the two kinds of pastures known in the canton. *Alps* are summer pastures at high altitudes, usually above the timberline (4,000 feet above sea-level), where cattle stay for four months during the summer, and where butter and cheese are made. The opening up of alps made it possible to increase the number of cattle in the region in proportion to the fodder supplied by them. Although originally used by owners directly, or with hired help, since the industrial revolution *alps* have been operated on a lease basis—a tenant farmer leasing the *alp* and cattle and operating on his own account. The economic importance of *alp* property is still very great.

Allmends are low-level pastures situated mostly in valleys and on the slopes of lower hills. They are used mostly for hay-making and pasturing so-called "home cows" kept in the valley during the summer

for milking. *Allmends* at present are individually owned and operated.

Forests have also played an important role in peasant economy as sources of supply of building material, fuel and, at present, industrial raw material. Although originally used directly by villagers, individual use of forests is now forbidden by law (except for gathering litter in autumn), and they are operated directly by corporations and communities under government supervision.

Peasant economy, of course, was greatly influenced by the development of crafts and trade in the 17th century, and subsequently by hand and machine manufacturing which created markets for agricultural produce and fostered the development of dairy farming, which partly replaced the original cattle raising for the meat market and export. At present, cattle farming for dairy purposes and the meat market are balanced. The establishment of industry in the region increased the population in the course of the 19th century and also helped to solve the problem of overpopulation in agriculture to some extent. At present the main occupation of villagers is industry and crafts, including tourist trade, which together provide a living for almost two-thirds of the population. However, in spite of industrialization, the local population continued to emigrate, as is shown by the diminished membership of the hereditary corporations (see Table 1). It is there-

TABLE 1. MALE POPULATION OF VILLAGES
OBSTALDEN AND MUHLEHORN

Categories	1880	1950
Cooperative Sections		
Farmers	150	135
Non-farmers	329	120
Total C. S.	479	255
Others	26	309
Total	505	564

fore new settlers who made up the bulk of the increase in population. Farmers form about one-quarter of the total popu-

lation. The bulk of livestock is cattle, with some goats, horses, pigs, and sheep still kept for special purposes. Most of the cultivated land is under grass. Land and livestock property is more or less evenly distributed. Every peasant or craftsman has at least a few goats, whereas the richest farmers have at most fifteen to twenty head of cattle, and though we speak of villages, the chalets are scattered over the mountain and thus cover a considerable area of the community.

Development of the Community Organization. It is probable that communities in this part of Switzerland started as cooperative associations of sibs and families, perpetuated by descent, who lived in a region and had to help each other in everything from building chalets to defending their valley against rival tribes. Already under feudal regime there were cooperative associations of users of alps and other feudal property. After the end of the feudal regime in the 15th century communities acquired some of the property of the former feudal lords in alps, forests, *allmends*, and water sources. Community members had user rights in communal property. In the course of centuries community members gradually organized themselves into cooperative associations for the purpose of collective exploitation of their user rights, such as cooperative pasturing of cattle on an alp. It is possible that members of these associations were descendants of similar associations of serfs under the feudal regime. During the 18th and 19th centuries, these associations of users constituted themselves as legally independent cooperatives whose membership was perpetuated by descent like that of the communities. In this way new settlers in the communities were prevented from obtaining economic benefits with community membership.³ On the

³ Organizational changes made in the community since the beginning of the 19th century can be better understood if studied against the background of the political development of Switzerland during the 19th century. Until 1798 the Swiss Confederation comprised thirteen independent federated states or cantons, including Glarus. In 1798, under French pressure, a Swiss republic "one and indivisible," was established. It introduced new rights of man, abolishing all distinctions of descent on which the previous order had been based, and establishing freedom of domicile for

Kerenzen mountain originally there was only one community, called Kerenzen Community. At the end of the 18th century there were already several more or less independent cooperative corporations of users which had split from the community in fact, though not yet in law (for instance Old and New Alp Corporation Obstdalden-Muhlehorn). But by the end of the period under discussion, these and other corporations had become independent both in fact and in law.⁴ Thus from the original sib associations there developed on one hand public law corporations (communities) and on the other private law corporations (cooperatives) both still perpetuated by descent (see items 4 to 9 below). At present the property is distributed in the following way: water sources, brooks, forests, and alps, are in the hands of the community or of the cooperatives. Cattle, fields, orchards, and *allmends* are in the hands of private individuals.

In 1884, the Kerenzen community itself was split into three independent communi-

all Swiss on the territory of the republic. This was a grave measure since at that time membership in a community conferred also many economic rights and benefits. But the republic was short-lived. It was disbanded in 1803 and the old confederation was revived. When in 1848 freedom of domicile was reestablished, its implications for the communities were different from those in 1798, because the communal property had to a great extent been separated from the communities and established as separate corporations. The new settlers could no longer claim and obtain economic benefits with community citizenship, and therefore did not interfere with the economic interests of the original members.

⁴ The preamble to the statutes of the New Alp-Corporation Obstdalden-Muhlehorn dated February 2 (Hornung 2) 1779 states, in colorful peasant German: "Regulations of the praiseworthy corporation of Kerenzen 'before Sallern,' have been worked out at the request of the whole community and approved and ratified by it. The rules and regulations have to be written in a special book where nothing else shall appear except these rules and regulations and the available capitals. Jehovah! Great Lord of peace and mercy, give Thy gracious blessing to this good deed performed for the benefit of the whole community." The corporation "vor der Sallern" was also the parent of the present Corporation Muhlehorn. It is therefore clear that the Community Kerenzen had the owner's rights, and the different corporations were only users' associations, although they might have had their own property too. At present all these corporations are considered as owners of all the property administered by them.

ties (called *Tagwen*), each corresponding to a village (Mulhorn, Obstdalen, and Filzbach). The criterion for membership in the new communities was the possession of so-called "forest-rights" in each village—those who possessed them at the time of the split became burghers of the community in which they were domiciled and obtained all the rights still in possession of the community. In this way the organizational changes which, in the course of centuries, became necessary to fit the changing economic structure of the community were grafted onto the older institutions and have not supplanted them. Thus institutional products of different epochs still exist side by side, or rather, inside each other.

Since 1887 the organization in Muhlehorn has been as follows:

(1) Local political community (*Ortsgemeinde*), open to all Swiss, which confers to members the village and house rights, and some other rights, such as water and litter rights.

(2) Parish, open to all members of the "True Faith" (Protestantism).

(3) School Community, open to all residents.

(4) Burghers' Community (*Tagwen*), whose members are only the descendants of burghers who possessed forest rights in 1884. This community is administratively linked with the political community, but has some of its own property, mainly forests, inherited from an old forest corporation. It confers on members the right to use its property or share in profits.

(5) Mutual Assistance Community of burghers. Members have the right to be supported in case of destitution.

(6) Corporation Muhlehorn (*Genossame Muhlehorn*), whose members are the descendants of the burghers settled in the community before 1803, and who therefore have more rights than ordinary burghers, such as the right to use the corporation's property (forests), and share profits.

(7) New Alp Corporation Obstdalen-Muhlehorn, whose members are the descendants of burghers settled there before 1803. Its property is alps, members have the right to use them and to share profits, but at present alps are operated collectively by tenancy.

(8) Old Alp Corporation Obstdalen-Muhlehorn, whose members are the same as those of the New Corporation, except two sibs. Its property is one alp, and members' rights are similar to those of the New Corporation.

(9) Goat Corporations, whose members are the same as those of the New Corporation. These corporations have apparently no direct property, but only rights to pasture goats on alps before and after the cattle arrive, and on so-called goat alps, which are situated above the cattle alps. There is no apparent organization, administrative duties, or statutes in written form. These corporations live entirely on tradition and seem to be among the oldest in the region. Goats are privately owned.

For future reference we will distinguish:

(a) The subgroup of "old burghers" who are members of all the organizations listed above, 1 to 9. This subgroup may be called the Cooperative Section (CS) and their property and other value-objects the Cooperative Sector. Its members form the nucleus of the community and are the direct descendants in the male line of the original community members. (b) The subgroup of "new burghers," who are members of only the organizations 1 to 5 above. Property belonging to this section may be called Burghers' Sector. Old and new burghers together form the Burghers' Community (see 4 above) which is a section of the political community and itself includes CS as a subsection. (c) The category of all the other Swiss citizens domiciled in the community, who are members only of the organizations 1 to 3 above.

It is only the Cooperative Section (CS), as the heir of the original community, which is analyzed below. The discussion will notably bear on the constituent elements of the CS, both human and non-human, and their relative positions, which will be called structure (the historical introduction served to delimit the structure within a larger social space); the forces binding these elements together and their relative strength as compared with the environmental influences and with the internal cohesion of members (dynamics); and finally, the analysis of change in time of the constituent elements of structure and dynamics during the period between 1887 and the present

(kinetics). This seems to be an ambitious program and although a certain selectivity will be necessary, it seems possible to give at least a skeleton analysis of all these aspects.

THE PRESENT STRUCTURE OF THE COOPERATIVE SECTION (CS)

The present structure of the CS of the community consists of overlapping patterns of relations between members of the cooperative corporations described in the preceding section. The analysis starts with apparent social phenomena, i.e. corporations. It then proceeds to analyze these into their constituent elements, from which then a dynamic synthesis is obtained in quantitative terms. A convenient way of proceeding is to quote passages from the statutes of the so-called Muhlehorn Corporation (*Genossame Muhlehorn*). Differences between this corporation and others will be noted as the analysis proceeds.

Membership. "Members of the Corporation are all the major male descendents of the 'families' who possessed Corporation's rights in Obstalden⁵ before 1807 (see the membership list appended to the agreement concerning the division of the Kerenzen Community in 1887), whereby therefore all the sibs (*Geschlaechter*) of burghers therein mentioned are entitled to membership except the sibs . . ." (no. 4 of the statutes of the Corporation Muhlehorn translated from German by the writer). According to this definition of membership there are now 11 sibs admitted to the membership which still survive in the community. Other sibs have either died out or emigrated.

"The General Assembly of the Corporation is the only competent organ to decide about the admission of new families to membership in the Corporation and the amount of admission fees" (no. 5 of the same statutes). It is interesting that the statutes speak of membership in terms of families, individuals, and of sibs.

Other corporations follow the same general rules of admission, with these deviations: (a) The New Alp Corporation Ob-

stalden-Muhlehorn admits all newborn babies of the male sex to membership after the first year of their lives, without waiting for their majority, which is usually attained when a man marries and founds his own home; (b) The partly written statutes of the New Alp Corporation do not foresee admission of new members except by birth; (c) The Old Alp Corporation Obstalden-Muhlehorn does not include two of the sibs, members of the New Corporation, which were excluded during the Napoleonic wars.

It should be noted that in the rules of admission of members it is the sibs which seem to possess the membership rights and individuals derive their rights from their membership in the sibs: no. 5 speaks of "families" which means future sibs, because if a family is admitted it is so with all its male descendents as long as they stay in the community. The fees for admission are calculated accordingly—it is like buying a pension for several generations of descendents. Table 1 gives the numbers of members for the New Alp Corporation which approximately defines the extent of the Cooperative Section of the community, although some corporations have fewer members for reasons noted above. All numbers are given for males only because they are members of the corporations. To obtain the total number of population one can multiply the number of males by two and add about two per cent.

*Value-Objects Common to Members of the CS.*⁶ It is postulated that a structure is delimited by membership, and by certain value-objects to which all members are in some way attracted or by which

⁵ V. Cervinka, *op. cit.* Since writing this paper the writer has found that the distinction between what was therein termed "cohesion" and "solidarity" is not necessary, because persons or members of a group can be themselves value-objects within a structure, which makes it possible to consider all the relations in a structure as derived from relations of members to value-objects of that structure. The term "cohesiveness" or "cohesion" is therefore now used for what previously was termed "cohesion" and "solidarity." The term "solidarity," which then became free, is now used to denote what was previously called more awkwardly "cooperativeness-competitiveness," and the term "value-objects" is used to denote what was called "reference points" before. This should be more in line with American usage.

⁶ Reference is made to Obstalden because before the split there was one corporation for Muhlehorn and Obstalden.

they are repulsed. Value-objects may be both material and immaterial things, human beings, or groups. In the Corporation Muhlehorn the following value-objects have been found: (a) property, i.e., forests, gardens, one alp, and other immovables valued at about 25,000 dollars; (b) the ancestor group through which membership is acquired; and (c) the present group, which operates the property collectively and is represented by its Administrative Committee. For legal reasons, third parties, like the state, other corporations, and so on, do not represent value-objects because members as such have no direct relation to them. Nor apparently do any individual members form value-objects for the group—no interpersonal relations have been pointed out to the writer. This of course does not mean that there are no personal friendships, but these may not be important in the context of the study.

The New and Old Alp Corporations have similar value-objects: (a) property in alps, and other immovables valued at approximately 30,000 dollars including liquid assets; (b) the ancestor group, which is common to all the corporations; (c) the in-group relations, which are similar for all corporations. For the Goat Corporations the values could not be ascertained, as they have no direct property, but only user rights. Their value-objects consist mainly of different goat pastures.

Relations between Members and their Value-Objects. From the structural point of view, only the form of relations between members and values is taken into consideration, especially with the view to ascertain what is here called the sociological distance between members and values—that is, the possibility of desired or undesired relations materializing. In our case it is the closest possible relation—that of owners-users. It may be subclassified into duties and privileges enjoyed by members.

There are four classes of duties: (a) the purpose of a corporation is the cooperative operation of its property. Among the duties of members related to this operation are listed the improvement and maintenance of forests, woods, buildings, alps, paths, and ways; (b) according to present statutes property must not be sold, mortgaged, or exchanged—it cannot be inherited, or be-

queathed, for it belongs to the sibs and not to the individuals, who have only user rights in the property, with no specific share or portion of it as direct possession; (c) among other duties are the obligation to accept office in the corporation's administration and to respect regulations and decisions of the committee on misdemeanors; (d) for maintenance of communal property there was formerly the custom of communal work, but at present such duties are hardly ever imposed on members, for most work is done by hired labor.

There are also four classes of privileges: (a) property belongs to the sibs, but the revenue from it flows into the purses of the individual members of these sibs in equal shares, provided they satisfy the conditions of residence; (b) user rights in communal property for every member—these rights are no longer exercised directly by members, but through appropriate agencies appointed at the corporations' general meetings, such as tenant farmers for alps, executive committee of the Corporation Muhlehorn, and the like, and the only direct right which members still can exercise in the forests is the so-called litter right (right to gather litter); (c) the right to vote at the assemblies and the right to be elected as an officer of the corporation; (d) the right to assistance in case of destitution.

Groupoids. The web of relations established between members as a result of their being related to at least one common value-object will be called a groupoid with respect to that particular value-object. It is possible to analyze every structure, such as that of a corporation, into a system of groupoids, which are regarded as fundamental elements, or dimensions, of a group's structure. Thus in each corporation of the CS one can distinguish at least the following groupoids: a groupoid derived from their members being users of the corporate property; a groupoid derived from their being descendents of a certain group of ancestors; and a groupoid derived from their being related to their own corporation. Certain groupoids define the structure and may be called its constituent groupoids. A structure is thus regarded as a system of groupoids. Table 2, read down the columns, shows the extent of membership of the main systems of groupoids in the Muhlehorn community.

TABLE 2. AVERAGE ATTACHMENTS OF MEMBER FAMILIES OF DIFFERENT OCCUPATIONS TO VALUES OF THE CS IN 1887 AND 1950 *

Category	Year	CS Sector	Burgher Sector	Political Community Sector	Private, Other Sectors	Total Non-Cooperative Sectors	All Sectors
Altbürger							
Craftsmen	1887	35	X	X	X	715	750
	1950	68	X	X	X	932	1000
Laborer	1887	15	X	X	X	735	750
	1950	28	X	X	X	972	1000
Farmer	1887	115	X	X	X	635	750
	1950	218	X	X	X	782	1000
Neubürger	1887	0	X	X	X	750	750
	1950	0	X	X	X	1000	1000
Other Swiss	1887	0	0	X	X	750	750
	1950	0	0	X	X	1000	1000
Aliens	1887	0	0	0	X	X	X
	1950	0	0	0	X	X	X

The Xs mean that the value of the attachments is unknown.

*The computation of the attachments of CS burghers to their groups may be explained as follows. Figures were obtained by using formula (1) in the text, considering three categories of occupations of burghers. At present a craftsman gets from all corporations within the CS a total of about 18 dollars a year. His litter right brings him in about two dollars a year. If he has one male child he gets from his membership about eight dollars a year, and if he earns some extra income by working for the corporations which, on the average, amounts to about forty dollars a year, the total worth of his attachment to the CS is about sixty-eight dollars a year per average family. A similar estimate for a family of a laborer who does no work for the corporation gives twenty-eight dollars income a year. For a farmer's family the situation is similar as far as direct income goes, but a farmer's indirect income is larger because, beside work for the corporation in winter, he may keep one cow more than he would be able to if he were not a member. The indirect worth of membership in an alp corporation may be evaluated at one hundred fifty dollars a year—the amount of net profit from keeping one cow. The total attachment of an average farmer's family to the CS is therefore about two hundred eighteen dollars per year.

For the year 1887 the estimate of the corresponding figures has been obtained as follows: 1950 money has about one-third of its former value in 1887, therefore all figures for 1887, if expressed in 1950 dollars, must be multiplied by at least three. On the other hand, during the same period there was an increase in the productivity of dairy business, farming, because cows give now about 50 per cent more milk than sixty years ago; there also was an increase in the number of cattle, and an improvement in forest management. With these considerations in mind an estimate of the attachments of the three categories for 1887 gives the following figures, in terms of 1950 dollars—for a craftsman's family, thirty-five dollars; for a laborer's family, fifteen dollars; for a farmer's family, one hundred fifteen dollars per year. Total average income of an average family for the three categories can be estimated for 1887 at about seven hundred fifty dollars, and for 1950 at about one thousand dollars per year, all in 1950 dollars. The necessary figures and suggestions for the above calculations have been obtained from the farmers, from the balance sheets of the corporations, and from J. Hösli, *op. cit.* and *Wirtschaftsplan fuer die Waldungen des Tagwens und der Genossame Mühlehorn*.

Groupoids may be considered either analytically, that is, as relations of members to each other in a sociometric sense, when each member in turn may become a common value-object, or synthetically, as relations of each member to the whole structure. We shall use the latter method. Methods of

combining constituent groupoids into structures will be discussed under dynamics.

Specific Value-Objects. Besides being related to common values, each member of the CS has his "own world" as the farmers call it. This own world consists of values specific to the individual member or to his family,

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such as his cattle, tools, house, and orchards. These value-objects are not common to or shared with other members of the CS, although some of them may be alike for many members, as for instance cattle herded on an alp. Such value-objects will be called private sector of members. In this private sector, members themselves undoubtedly constitute important value-objects to each other. In evaluating the total cohesiveness of the private member-family, one may safely assume that it will be stronger than the cohesiveness based only on criteria used in this paper, because the inter-personal relations, which are probably quite important in the family, have not been taken into account. The internal cohesiveness of members is therefore rather underestimated as compared with the cohesiveness of the CS.

DYNAMICS

In this section of the paper it is proposed to evaluate the present worth of the CS structure as a social unit, that is, a group of participating individuals or families. (For this analysis we shall not need the genetic approach as in the explanation of the structure, for in accordance with the field theory it may be made entirely in the present or, for that matter, at any moment of time.) It is postulated that this worth is equal to the worth of the structure to its participating members. This worth will be called "cohesiveness" or simply "cohesion" of the group. The working hypothesis of this paper is that the CS forms a group characterized by the positive cohesion of members within their given structure. In other words, the group is defined as a social unit capable of withstanding certain disruptive forces to the extent of the strength of its cohesiveness. The reason for making cohesiveness the basis of the definition of a group is empirical. It is the only one known to the writer that fits the facts in this and other group situations in different parts of the world.

Cohesion may vary from structure to structure and, if measured, will determine whether a particular structure is a group as defined or not. Cohesion itself can be defined as the positive resultant of all the attracting and repulsing forces acting within a given social structure, expressed as a ratio to the internal cohesiveness of members (this ap-

plies also in the case when members are individual human beings). We have delimited the structure of the CS by taking inventory of members, value-objects, their relations, and the corresponding groupoids. Cohesion represents the dynamic aspect of a structure. The following method was used to measure cohesiveness of the CS.

First, the strength of attractions of members to value-objects was evaluated by the economic benefits derived by members from them, namely: (a) share in profits from the operation of the corporations; (b) worth of the opportunities for work offered by corporations; (c) worth of the direct user rights on property (litter, alping). This gave a measure of attraction of a member to each value-object, i.e., the contribution of each groupoid to the total dynamics of the structure. In the absence of sociological barriers to the attractions (ownership being the closest possible distance), the latter are equivalent to attachments of members to their value-objects. Certain other conditions being also fulfilled, the attachments were combined by algebraic addition to obtain the total attachments of an average family to the value-objects of all the groupoids constituting the CS structure. This is one of the methods to obtain a dynamic index for a structure.⁷ The obtained attachments are given for different occupational categories of members in Table 2. The formula for their calculation was as follows:

$$a = \sum_i \sum_j (s_{ij} + b_{ij} + d_{ij}) \quad (1)$$

where i —number of a groupoid (corporation)

j —number of a male member in a family

a —total attachment of an average family to CS

p —profit of a corporation usually shown among corporation's expenses

N —number of members in a corporation at any moment of time

⁷ Mathematically the use of algebraic addition means that the condition of orthogonality of dimensions (i.e. their independence) was abandoned in this case, in fact they were merged into one dimension. This of course is not always the case, but the method proposed earlier (see footnote 1) permits calculation of more complex cases with orthogonal or even oblique dimensions.

- b—estimated income from work for a corporation per member
- d—average estimated farmer's income from keeping an additional cow and from litter rights
- s—profit share of a member in a corporation equal to the N-th part of the total net profit p (both quantities varying from corporation to corporation)

Details of the computations are given in the footnote to Table 2. Besides the groupoids used in this computation, several other groupoids were considered but were not measured, because they seemed mutually to cancel out. Technical reasons also prohibited further digging into the matter. The other groupoids were: a certain antagonism generated between members by their level of aspiration concerning their value-objects (which gives a kind of symbolic groupoid) which was due mainly to too small a share in corporations' profits. However, this latent antagonism was mitigated by personal attachments (groupoids based on persons as value-objects), which undoubtedly exist between certain members, although within narrow circles—three to four members. The problem was summed up by one farmer: "There ain't no friendships here, only burgher's duties and privileges." Some members further spoke of a certain sentimental attachment to their corporations, but the writer believes that this factor was taken into consideration by calculating the value of opportunity for work into the index of attachments. Duties and privileges of office cancel out because any excess of duties is paid for in cash. Finally, the attachment, if any, to the "ancestor group," may be evaluated, when necessary, by the amount of admission fee, but this has no place in our scheme. The writer is aware that such a rather summary dismissal of a number of factors may look like an excuse for his inability to measure them. This is partly the case. But the point seems to be whether or not this procedure introduces a serious error into the final results. The writer's opinion is, whatever its value, that it does not. But when better measurement techniques become available which will allow the measurement of attitudes of such introverts as the Swiss mountaineers, better results will undoubtedly be obtained.

With these considerations in mind the at-

tachments as calculated above were considered as a good first approximation of the resultant forces acting within the CS structure. The indices claim to measure, within a given structure, the total attachments of average member families in different occupational categories to all value-objects at two different moments of the CS history: in 1887 and 1950 (see Table 2). These indices express what the structure as a whole is worth to participating members of different occupations at the two moments of time. Expressed as percentages of the total income of a family (which is considered to be an approximation of its total internal cohesiveness), these indices give what will be called cohesiveness of the CS:

(2)

$$c = \frac{a}{C} \cdot 100$$

where c—cohesion of the group

C—internal cohesion of the members

a—attachment, from formula (1)

Table 3 summarizes the indices of cohesion for different categories of occupations. Both Tables 2 and 3 are three-dimensional tables which, down the columns, for the same year represent the extent of each structure's membership, and along the rows represent what may be called personality (syntality) content of each member (group);

TABLE 3. ANALYTICAL TABLE OF COHESIVENESS BETWEEN FAMILIES OF DIFFERENT CS SUBGROUPS IN MÜHLEHORN IN 1887 AND 1950, EXPRESSED IN PERCENTAGES OF TOTAL COHESIVENESS OF EACH FAMILY *

Group	Year	Cooperative Sections	Other Sectors
Altbürger			
Crafts Subgroup	1887	4.7	95.3
	1950	6.8	93.2
Labor Subgroup	1887	2.0	98.0
	1950	2.8	97.2
Farmer Subgroup	1887	15.4	84.6
	1950	21.8	78.2
Neubürger	1887	0.0	100.0
	1950	0.0	100.0
Other Swiss	1887	0.0	100.0
	1950	0.0	100.0
Aliens	1887	0.0	100.0
	1950	0.0	100.0

* Rows add up to 100.

and, between sub-rows, the time demension. Having obtained positive cohesion between certain sets of members of the CS, we can call them groups. Judging by the indices of cohesion, the CS itself, the farmers, the laborers, and the craftsmen, form separately a group and two or three subgroups respectively. The farmers' subgroup is the most cohesive core of the whole CS. But compared to self-cohesion of families (even undervalued), the CS cohesion is of relatively little importance, although for farmers it reaches a more appreciable fraction. When a member thinks of emigrating, he may therefore be expected to act on the basis of private considerations and with little regard to the cooperative group, because it will make little difference if he loses the cooperative income and benefits by emigration.

The definition of cohesiveness implies that members are expected to resist any disrupting forces which might act on the group to the extent of their cohesiveness. This is its criterion of validity. Except for an attempt made in the last section of this paper, it has not so far been possible to find data to validate our theory of cohesiveness, and this remains a problem for further research. However, a good standard of reliability (up to .96) has already been obtained even for criteria of measurement of cohesion which are weaker than the one presently used, and it may therefore be expected that at least the reliability of our measurements (except for possible errors of estimate) is fair.

KINETICS (CHANGE)

In this section the discussion of change begun in the first section will be continued through the last period to a near future and a method of testing the cohesion hypothesis will be described. As stated before, cohesion is expected to correlate with the resistance of members to disruption of the group. Emigration is such a disruption. Therefore if cohesion is negatively correlated with emigration, or positively with the remaining population, this may be taken as an indication of its validity (only as an indication, because the drop in reproduction rate has not been calculated).

In the period since 1887 there were practically no structural changes in the community of Muhlehorn. Dynamic data show

however some changes between 1887 and 1950, although data are lacking for the intermediate period. In these sixty odd years the following major trends can be observed. The total population of the community as a whole has practically remained stationary (see Table 1), but there was a considerable decline, about 50 per cent, in the population of the CS alone, which now represents only about half the total population of the political community, whereas in 1887 almost everybody was at least a member of the burghers' community which was practically identical, at that time, with the political community. Burghers who were not members of the CS seem never to have been numerous (their number makes about 10 per cent of the CS population) and thus form a narrow margin around the CS population. The third feature of the population changes in the community is a slowing decrease in the emigration of the agriculturally employed. Back in the middle of the nineteenth century agriculture was overpopulated. Then came the industrialization, and the excess of the agricultural population was absorbed in industry, mainly outside the community, so that at present there is a shortage of farm workers rather than an overpopulation. The drop in reproduction rates probably also helped to solve the problem of agricultural overpopulation to a small extent.

The heavy loss of members of the CS through emigration led some students of the cooperative corporations and communities in Switzerland to believe that the multiple community system will soon disappear. This conclusion is supported by instances of communities who have lost all their burghers and have now only domiciled citizens. Let us examine the available data on change to verify this hypothesis for the CS of the Muhlehorn community.

Formula (1) states the functional relation between the attachments as dependent variables and other factors as independent variables. These independent variables fluctuate from year to year, but their real value (in the economic sense) has had a secular trend since 1887: p has been increasing with improvements in management techniques of the alps and other property, and so has d ; N has been decreasing steadily through the drop in reproduction rates and mainly through emigration. Only b probably has

remained more or less stationary, possibly with a slight increase. Thus the attachments have increased in strength through the operation of practically all the independent variables during the period under discussion. For some members there is also a minor trend of increase in the strength of attachments through the accumulation of wealth which increases their interest in alps. However, in this last case the farmer's "own world" also becomes more attractive and therefore the index of cohesion, which is a ratio, may not increase, or not to the same extent as attachments.

To study the converse relation, where N is the dependent variable and other factors, including attachments (cohesion), independent variables, it is necessary to use statistical techniques. A heavy drop in membership during the last sixty years has been paralleled by a low level of cohesiveness of the CS, especially in the laborers' and craftsmen's subgroups, which showed a much greater decrease in population than the farm subgroup. The increase in cohesion indices during this period is not responsible for this differential trend, because they all increased uniformly by about 40 per cent, whereas population dropped by different figures in different subgroups. On the other hand, it was found that the higher level of cohesion in the farm subgroup is positively correlated with the smaller decrease in its population (Table 4). The correlation is not high but

TABLE 4. COMPARISON OF ADULT MALE POPULATION IN TWO GROUPS, ONE OF LOW AND ONE OF HIGH COHESIVENESS, IN 1887 AND 1950

Cohesiveness	1887	1950	Total
5 to 7.2	205 [180]*	90 [114]	295
17 to 24.2	150 [174]	135 [110]	285
Total	355	225	580

* Numbers in brackets are theoretical frequencies f_t for calculation of chi square.

Yule's coefficient of association (Q) is .35.

Standard error of Q is .075.

Probability is less than .01.

it is statistically significant. This is an indication that there may be a real negative association between the level of cohesion and numbers of people dropping out of the group. A corollary to this hypothesis, if it proves

correct, is the following hypothesis: as cohesion of a group increases, it may reach, under given in- and out-group relations, a threshold of indifference at which emigration will drop to zero and members will become indifferent to it, that is, a kind of unstable equilibrium will be established. This threshold may be very important for a group because it may define the critical minimum of cohesion necessary to maintain its membership. Projecting the trends of change in cohesion and population in the CS into the future, such a threshold may be expected to lie around a cohesion index of 30. This means that under unchanged structure a cohesion index of 30 or above may become a factor in the decision-making of a member when he thinks of emigrating. If, as may be expected, cohesion continues to increase in the farmers' subgroup, and other conditions remain unchanged, it may reach (and for some farmers in the higher income brackets it probably has already reached) the threshold of indifference when their emigration will stop altogether. The non-farm subgroups have a long way to go before they reach this threshold and it is doubtful if they can reach it at all. Therefore one may expect that the farm population may eventually become the main, if not the only, component subgroup of the CS. Furthermore, the wealthier farmer-members may be expected to remain interested in the maintenance of the CS, except if some become so rich that they will be able to take over the whole business alone, thus changing its structure. Present trends, however, do not point in this direction. These predictions are, of course, made under the condition of unchanged structure and are subject to errors of estimate of past measurements.

On the whole, our analysis of change in dynamics of the CS does not support the pessimistic view that the cooperative corporations are already doomed to early disappearance. There are already factors working to reinforce the cohesion of the CS, and emigration itself is one of them. The extraordinary longevity of the corporations itself speaks against the possibility of their early disappearance. This longevity is probably maintained by the stability of the value-objects on which the structure is based. There is no evidence at present that this stability has been shaken. The importance of the

function performed by the corporations, at least in the life of farmers, is still great. The structure itself showed a considerable degree of plasticity under adverse conditions in its long history, and the cooperative form of rural associations proved its usefulness in the past and in the present. However, it is true that the essentially rural character of the CS structure makes it of little value to the non-farm population of the community, which represents a majority. But it is equally true that this majority is composed of far less stable elements than the farmers' subgroup. Therefore, the maintenance of the old cooperative corporations will probably depend on the survival of farmers, especially the wealthier ones.

GENERAL REMARKS

Muhlehorn is a rather typical Swiss village community. The social principle of differentiation of the population on the basis of descent into burghers and "other" citizens is quite general. Cooperative corporations in the rural areas of the Allemanic part of Switzerland and trade-guilds in towns, all perpetuated by descent, are still quite common phenomena. Everywhere one can find hereditary associations within hereditary communities, communities within other communities, states within a state.

Switzerland offers a good example of a private collectivist system of social organization. Collectivism permeates her whole social and economic life, even the federal government. It provides for a great turnover of personalities in office as compared with other democracies; but if we think not in terms of personalities, but in terms of groups which they represent, we will find an extraordinary permanence of functions, offices and related group influences. A study of Swiss collectivism would make a good research project and would probably contribute to an understanding of group organization and stability, for there are few countries which are as well organized, as orderly and as peaceful as Switzerland, yet at the same time so complex, so highly differentiated,

and so thoroughly applying the principle of combined conflict and cooperation in inter-group relations.

A curious fact may be mentioned, namely that the Swiss system of socio-economic organization, which is so effective in Switzerland, has not been successfully imitated elsewhere. Unsuccessful imitators may, perhaps, draw some comfort from the fact that the Swiss themselves do not imitate each other and preserve the great diversity of their institutions without apparent difficulties. Nor do they have any tendency to generalize their principles—what is good and right for one group is not necessarily considered so for another even within the same community. The Swiss themselves jokingly say that one must be a xenophobe to be a good Swiss. This may be true if we understand by the term "foreigners" not only the non-Swiss but also the Swiss from a neighboring community, or even people whose ancestors settled in the community later than the speaker's.

For further research it may be useful to isolate the following variables found in the course of study: (1) clear-cut differential organization of inter-personal relations according to groupoids involved; (2) differential behavior toward people, depending on value-objects involved (keeping within one's role); (3) differential ethical standards, each standard being valid within strictly defined limits, with no transfer from one organization to another, even if some members are the same in both; (4) carefully differentiated in- and out-group relations; (5) maintenance of differential cohesiveness even in overlapping groups.

CONCLUSIONS

This paper illustrates the application of a conceptual model of human groups to the analysis of a particular, fairly complex, community. Its purpose is theoretical, methodological and material. Techniques of measurement used are more or less incidental. It is hoped that this analysis may be useful for further research in the theory of human groups.

CHINA'S TRADITIONAL FAMILY, ITS CHARACTERISTICS AND DISINTEGRATION *

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THIS paper attempts to define the traditional Chinese family system which persisted through two thousand years without any substantial change. In the pages that follow the model of this system is described to represent the family of the gentry and officialdom, although the deviation of a peasant household would be slight, for in China the peasant is an earnest imitator of the life patterns established by the gentry-scholar class. However lasting as was China's traditional family, the early half of the twentieth century witnessed a rapid disintegration of this age-old institution among the modern-educated intellectuals in the large cities and trade ports, and the emergence of the conjugal family as a sharp competitor. Under the impetus of the present social revolution the destruction of this system has penetrated to all groups of society and to the vast interior.

A DEFINITION OF FAMILISM

Familism means "a form of social organization in which all values are determined by reference to the maintenance, continuity and functions of the family groups."¹ Though relevant, this definition seems to be too abstract when applied to the traditional Chinese family system. For practical purposes, it seems advisable in describing the term "familism" to include the following five essential features. (1) *Emphasis on the father-son relationship*. Although the family as a social organization always involves parent-child or husband-wife relationships,

unless the relationship between the father and son is stressed there would never be familism, in some cases not even a stable family.² Accompanying the family system arranged on this basis are patriarchy, patrilocal residence after marriage, patrilineal descent, agnate clan organization, and the inheritance of property by one or all legal (male) heirs. (2) *Family pride*. The family's standing is important in that any member's glory is taken to be the glory of the family, and his or her disgrace is the disgrace of the household. In China's dynastic days, if a man gained fame in civil examinations or in officialdom, not only his parents became distinguished but his wife and sons were also honored. (3) *Encouragement of the large family*. Traditional values persistently and invariably encourage the living together of blood relatives and regard with shame any division of the household. It is unimportant what the actual size of an average family in China may be; whenever economic circumstances permit, the family membership will continue to grow.³ The enormously extended family of Chang Kung-i, which comprised nine generations (including of course many collateral descendants) living together under the same roof, was personally visited and decorated by an emperor of the Tang Empire. A large organization such as this,

² The family system based on the mother-daughter relationship (found only in the aboriginal tribes) generally is accompanied by an arrangement known as *avunculate* under which authority is exercised not by the father of the family but by one of the wife's brothers, who usually resides in another family. And it is commonly understood that the family founded upon the husband-wife relationship, known as the conjugal family, is very unstable and discontinuous.

³ The description of the family history of Wang Lung in Pearl Buck's novel, *The Good Earth*, may be cited as an example. When Wang was poor, he lived with his wife and father, a *de facto* conjugal family; after he became rich, however, his household consisted of concubines, sons and daughters, the wives and children of married sons, and several slaves.

* Written with the support of a grant from the American Philosophical Society. The author is indebted to Drs. W. F. Ogburn, E. W. Burgess, R. Redfield, Herbert Blumer, E. C. Hughes, and Theodore Stern for their helpful comments, reading, or editing of the original draft of this paper, although any error is of course his own responsibility.

¹ Daniel H. Kulp, *Country Life in South China, the Sociology of Familism*, New York: Columbia University, 1925, p. 188.

though rare, did exist and was commemorated in history. (4) *The cult of ancestor worship*. The father-and-son relationship, being a link of an unending chain between generations, leads upward to ancestor worship and downward to the "sin" of no posterity. A natural result of this emphasis is demonstrated in the keeping of elaborate pedigrees and the building of splendid ancestral halls.⁴ (5) *Common ownership of property by the family*. Beside the ideological reinforcement, the economic basis of familism is its common ownership of property. Perhaps no family could achieve unity unless the destiny of its members were bound together by a mutual sharing of prosperity and disaster. As a common practice, disintegration of the household generally begins when the patriarch has become too weak to enforce the family's rules, and collectively owned funds are used for private interests.

These five attributes taken tentatively as the content of familism bear, of course, varying weights in the support of the Chinese large family system. They serve, nevertheless, as indispensable parts of an integral organization. It must be pointed out, however, that with the strong backing of these elements and through some twenty centuries of development the large family in China was found largely in the wealthy class, especially the gentry. In an ordinary village there might be some big households with thirty or forty members, but the remaining families, although similar to them in basic structure, each comprised no more than five or six persons. To put it another way, the large family is the universally exalted ideal, but only those who possess ample wealth are in a position to attain it. The family generally begins to disintegrate at the moment when there are no longer enough resources for all, and different branches are forced to take what can still be shared from the commonly owned property and go elsewhere. This is why the popular notion in China always takes the division of a house as signaling a misfortune, and the maintenance of a fairly large household as an indication of prosperity and prestige.

⁴ Cf. Hsien Chin Hu, *The Common Descent Group in China and Its Functions*, New York: Viking Fund Publications in Anthropology, No. 10, 1948.

THE FAMILY AS AN INSTITUTION

As a rule, life in the large family centers on consanguinity, whereas life in the small family centers on matrimony. The Chinese family definitely constitutes an institutionalized type of the former. Its fundamental characteristics are stability, continuity, and perpetuation through generations. A long period of living together by a number of persons in the same household naturally develops some peculiar ways of life which are called the family's tradition. In order to preserve this tradition, each family generally sets up its own rules, written or unwritten, to discipline its members. Both the tradition and the rules are important means of maintaining the family as an institution.

The family tradition, composed of a variety of minute manners unique to each family, gives its members a strong feeling of *esprit de corps*. This tradition is conscientiously kept intact and proudly transmitted through generations. When strengthened by the cult of ancestor worship, it becomes the code of conduct and permeates the minds of family members. It determines the proper relations between members of the family, inheritance of the family's property, and succession to a title, an occupation, or even a craft. In traditional China, the complex of family etiquette, which distinguished members of a good family from those of a poor one, was generally taken by society as a yardstick of the prosperity and the status of a family.

In intellectual families, the spirit of tradition is codified into a written constitution, or the family laws,⁵ which enable the patriarch to regulate behavior of the family members. His power and authority extend far into the realm of what the West would consider to be personal matters of an individual. The question arises as to how this power and authority can be maintained, especially after members have reached maturity. Aside from moral sanction and the social pressure exerted by the community, a crucial answer to this question is the inheritance of or succession to

⁵ The book which is used to record these codified rules is called the *chia-li-p'u*. Cf. Y. K. Leong and L. K. Tao, *Village and Town Life in China*, London: George Allen & Unwin, 1915, pp. 7, 24 and 70-71.

the patrimony or craft. In traditional China when education was not socialized, the means of securing a livelihood was primarily transmitted within the family. Not only was the tangible property such as land, house, and livestock largely inherited, but in addition such crafts or skills as brewing, weaving, drug-making, or painting were also acquired through the father-son relationship. If a son wanted to be a legal heir for any of these, the first duty he learned at childhood was to obey the family's rules, or better still, to live up to the family's traditional spirit. It must be remembered further that severe punishment could be inflicted on a wayward son, including hauling to the ancestral hall, flogging, ostracism, or even execution upon the consent of the elders of the agnate clan.

Since family property or craft symbolizes the achievements of many forefathers, sentiments and emotions are naturally attached to it. It is held to be a duty for the heirs to expand or improve heritage and not to lose or permit it to deteriorate. If the latter should unfortunately happen, the degree of disgrace to the incumbent, a typical prodigal in the eyes of his neighbors, usually became so unbearable that the only way out was to leave the native community. It may be stated further that since the property inherited in the family bears sentimental values, any division of it would hurt the feelings of a son. The most desirable solution is naturally to keep the house from being partitioned and to encourage as many generations as possible to live together. If circumstances in the household have become such that a division is inevitable, the manner of apportioning the family property is strictly arranged along the line of the father-son relationship. Tangible property is allotted equally among the sons, except that some special privileges are possessed by the eldest in descent, though not to the extent of primogeniture, and the sons of a concubine are recognized as having little claim. As regards the craft, however, in order to safeguard it within the family as a guaranteed livelihood, the general rule of succession is to transmit the skill only to male heirs, and not to daughters and daughters-in-law.

From this kind of family-centric situa-

tion derives a popular concept—the emphasis on the family's descent. It is this concept that makes an insult to one's mother the greatest offense, and the remarriage of a widowed wife a sign of disgrace to the family. Another effect of this notion is the esteem placed on genealogy. Among the distinguished, large families, an elaborate pedigree must be kept in good order in the ancestral hall. It is a glory to trace the family tree back to historically renowned figures who may or may not be blood kin of the family. On the other hand, dignity and grace require descendants to delete the names of disreputable persons from the genealogical records. To revise or to add new biographies to the pedigree is regarded as so solemn an undertaking that not only members of the whole clan participate in celebration, but well-known scholars are invited to take charge of the editorship. All this, coupled with the discipline of family members, has fostered an attitude in society that due respect is always paid to members of an old but decaying family, whereas acrimonious remarks and scorn are generally directed to the misdemeanors committed by members of the *nouveau riche* households.

FUNCTIONS, ROLES, AND STATUS

The way in which the members of a Chinese family are trained or disciplined can best be understood by an examination of the functions and roles assigned by Confucian traditions to each category of different relations within the family. As a primary institution, the family takes no account of any individual, but places all its emphasis on the identification of individual members with the established roles according to consanguineous or matrimonial principles.

The basic relatives of a family are, of course, parent and child, husband and wife, and brothers and sisters; the rest are only extended forms of these three relationships. The father is a patriarch (or a "stern sovereign" as the Chinese refer to him) whose solemn duty, beside representing the family in financial and other matters in the community, is to make sure that no member violates the family's established traditions and rules and that nothing happens to

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lower the family status. Naturally, he loves his sons and daughters just as much as his wife does, but socially he, as a patriarch, is traditionally entrusted with the responsibility for the rightful and proper conduct of other members in the family and also for their success in society. The proverb, "spare the rod, spoil the child," illustrates well the situation. In fulfilling his duty, the father has to exercise his authority to punish a misbehaving member in order not only to correct him (or her) but to maintain harmony and order in the household. Because of this, he is generally *respected*, but rarely *loved*.

Confucian doctrine, especially as amended by the scholars of the former Han Dynasty, inculcates two principles with regard to the roles of the father and the mother; that of *esteem* and that of *affection*. The father commands his descendants' esteem and the mother, their love. The chief responsibility of the former is to discipline and provide for the education of his children, while to his wife is entrusted their care and rearing. It is quite beyond the mother's role to punish her sons, except to warn the stubborn ones that "If you continue to do such and such things I am going to report to your father." Difficulties arise, however, when the father dies early and leaves no brother in the family to take care of disciplinary measures. Many a distinguished family has been ruined by such unfortunate circumstances.

According to the established convention in traditional China, the husband as a husband has no clearly defined role, except to support his wife; his position is found in other connections such as a son or as a father. This does not mean that he cannot assert authority over his wife—very often he does. The wife's place in the family deserves lengthy discussion. As one who has been brought up in a different family and different circumstances, she is more or less a stranger. She becomes the wife of a husband whom she may have never met before marriage and assumes the role of an active member of his family. In contrast to the situation in a conjugal family, her affiliation with her husband's family is considered to be far more important than the simple fact of her being a spouse. Because

of this, she is rigidly required to comply with the traditions and rules of the family into which she has married, no matter how disagreeable and unreasonable they may be to her. Should she have difficulty in getting along with the family, not to mention any misconduct on her part, her husband, regardless of what his feelings may be, is forced to repudiate her to maintain the integrity of the family institution.

The basic function of a wife is in brief to perpetuate the family's name, in other words, to procreate male children. Unless this is fulfilled, her position in the family is precarious. As is well known, the first of the seven conditions under which a wife may be repudiated is infecundity.⁶ To quote from Mencius again, "Three things are considered to be unfilial, and to have no posterity is the greatest of them." Even if a barren wife is tolerated, her husband is obliged to take a concubine who is young, attractive, and often fascinating.⁷ Although when she has borne her husband several sons her status is raised, the mother never enjoys a very lofty position. According to Chinese tradition, she can never have a life of her own. Should her husband die while her sons are still boys, the rule of three obediences⁸ requires her to "obey" or rather to depend upon her son. Perhaps the most miserable and unbearable life is that of the young, childless widow (even worse than a spinster); no matter what virtue a widow may possess, she is taken by legend as the most unlucky sign to any male. No bachelor would venture to marry

⁶ The seven conditions upon which a wife can be repudiated are: (1) No posterity, (2) licentiousness, (3) disobedience to parents-in-law, (4) quarreling, (5) theft, (6) jealousy, and (7) diseases regarded as vicious. On the woman's side, however, there are three conditions under which she may refuse to go: (1) Her close relatives through whom the marriage was arranged are all deceased, and, therefore, she has no place to go to; (2) she participated for three years in the mourning for her husband's parent; and (3) the family's present prosperity and fame was attained through years of struggle in which she shared the hardships. Cf. Kulp, *op. cit.*, p. 184.

⁷ A popular saying in China with regard to this reads: "To marry a wife is for her virtue; to take a concubine is for her beauty."

⁸ A woman should obey her father before marriage, obey her husband after marriage, and obey her son when her husband has deceased.

her, even if she, herself, had the courage to face the stigma of unchastity and disgrace of remarrying.

Under a patriarchal system, the roles played by sons and daughters (or brothers and sisters) are inevitably different. It is obvious that sons are the bearers of the family name, legal heirs of the family property, to whom are entrusted the family reputation and tradition. Naturally they have a bigger voice in family affairs. On the other hand, daughters are reared with an eye to the marriage that must take them out of the family. The only claim a daughter can make is a dowry which amounts to a fraction of the family property.⁹ If forced by economic circumstances, however, the poor patriarch simply sells his young daughters as concubines or even prostitutes.

MARRIAGE AND THE SELECTION OF A MATE

Since marriage in traditional China means taking a new member into the family rather than simply getting a wife for a husband, marriage is defined in the Confucian Classics as "to make a union between two persons of different families, the object of which is to serve, on the one hand, the ancestors in the temple, and to perpetuate, on the other hand, the coming generation." It must be arranged through "the orders of the parents and the words of the go-between." Among young boys and girls, dating is unknown and romantic love nonexistent—both seem to be the devices for a conjugal union, not for an institutional family.

In the Western world the choice of a mate, based on mutual compatibility, is made in the light of life-long companionship. In the traditional society of China, however, a wedding was not considered as a matter between two individuals, but rather as a conjugation between two families, and,

⁹ It is a customary practice that a certain amount of jewels and garments is demanded from her husband's family before marriage known as *tsai-li*, which, in turn, is generally bestowed on the bride as a part of her dowry. The actual worth of the *tsai-li* varies according to the economic circumstances of the two families concerned. If the bride's family is poor and the bridegroom's rich, it is not uncommon for the *tsai-li* to be converted into cash which exceeded several times the value of the dowry.

therefore, personal adjustment between husband and wife constitutes only a minor factor in the selection of a spouse. With regard to a wife, consideration was chiefly centered on the following three qualifications: (1) capability of bearing children, (2) compliance with the family's traditions and rules, and (3) ability to endure household drudgery. It is readily seen that these qualities can be more or less objectively estimated, or at least, they are not so subtle as "personal compatibility" which the Western husband and wife may not be able to determine at the moment of marriage.

Among the three qualities for which a wife is chosen, the ability to bear children is of course the most difficult one to know ahead of time. Beside what the fortune tellers may have to say on this, a traditional way to estimate it is to note the number of children her mother has borne. A daughter who is an only child is not taken as a good risk and generally has some difficulty in getting married. Physical strength is also considered, although it may have more to do with her laboring ability. Perhaps the most important factor in selecting a wife is the likelihood of the girl's getting along with other members, especially male members, of the family. It is on this consideration that the traditional marriage is arranged on the ground of the two families being equal in status. The family status as mentioned above, is an indication of its good traditions and promising prospects, although this account is generally balanced by the amount of property the family actually has in its immediate possession. Traditions are based on the common ideology of Confucianism, and the role played by each category of relatives in the family is universally defined by it. Living in a homogeneous culture such as China's, the equal status of their families provided a good chance for the young couple to get along well. Should any difficulties arise between them, the institutional bonds of wedlock are so tight that both of them, but in particular the wife, would have to be resigned to the situation.¹⁰

Under the marriage traditions of China, the boy's family always takes the initiative,

¹⁰ Cf. Leong and Tao, *op. cit.*, pp. 100-101.

while the girl's may either accept or reject the proposal. In the process of making such an arrangement, few decent families would be willing to expose their young girls to inspection by members of any family other than close relatives. Shyness on the part of the girl counts for only a part of pre-marital avoidance; the chief reason seems to be the family's abhorrence to any suggestion that it is engaged in selling its daughter. Thus any reliable information on the girl must be obtained through a person, usually a woman, who is acquainted with the girl and possesses intimate knowledge of her. Yet, she (or he), an amateur or a professional match-maker, must be one whose words can be trusted by both parties concerned. It is not uncommon, especially in the towns and cities, for a professional go-between to coax or cheat two completely incompatible families or persons into marriage, with matrimonial tragedy as the result. To this it may be added that if the girl in the Chinese traditional family actually lives in seclusion, the service of match-making is not only to carry on negotiations between the two families, but also to transmit messages between the boy and girl who are engaged, thus serving to stimulate their romantic feelings toward each other and to give each some knowledge of the other.

Perhaps a word or two may be said relative to the life of a young couple after marriage. Demonstration of love and affection between them in public is strongly discouraged, and the ideal of matrimonial life is epigrammatized as "husband and wife in bed, but friends out of it." That this inhibition may be advisable is apparently on account of the mother-in-law's feelings. Naturally she does not like her son to be taken away by another woman, and disagreements and quarrels between the mother-in-law and daughter-in-law are rather unavoidable. Humiliation and submission on the part of the latter, who is the loser on all issues, lead only to an intensification of the daughter-in-law's desire for revenge against her future daughter-in-law. One way out of this vicious circle is of course a cross-cousin marriage which, quite prevalent in traditional China, is generally made between a married woman's son and her brother's daughter, but not

vice versa.¹¹ The advantages of this arrangement are that identity of the family background of the mother-in-law and the daughter-in-law would at least reduce a part of their differences, and that since they are doubly related, any misunderstanding that might arise could be resolved through the daughter-in-law's parents.

THE MAINTENANCE OF A LARGE HOUSEHOLD

If the family based on the father-son relationship may be called the consanguine family, and that based on the husband-wife relationship the conjugal family, one of the great differences between the two is that a conjugal family ends in itself, whereas a consanguine family can be extended to include a great number of relatives in the same household. Furthermore, in the former case, as stated by Margaret Mead, the society has to rely upon other types of social groups for permanent form.¹² On the other hand, the family system based on consanguinity can and generally does color the society with many of its attributes. In the case of China, it seems to represent the familistic type of social organization *par excellence*.

The father-son relationship within the family is the extensible link of an endless chain which vertically leads to the cult of ancestor-worship and horizontally to the extended or large family, the agnate clan, and finally the nation. Since brothers and cousins are bound together by patrilineal descent, encouragement of their living to-

¹¹ Although joking privileges are commonly found among all cross-cousins related by marriage, and such privileges are generally taken as a sign of potential mating relationship, traditions in China somehow discourage and, in some regions, prohibit the "return-home-marriage" on the mysterious ground that it is *ku-hsieh-tao-liu* (the reverse flow of a married aunt's blood). This may very well be due to the fact that by marrying a married woman's son, it was felt that there would be greater harmony between the mother-in-law and the daughter-in-law, for the former would be constrained to act less harshly toward her brother's daughter. While, in the opposite case, there would be a tendency for the brother's wife to take out her pent-up frustrations on this girl who is the granddaughter of her own mother-in-law. Cf. also Francis L. K. Hsu, "Observations on Cross-Cousin Marriage in China," *American Anthropologist*, XL (January-March, 1945), pp. 83-103.

¹² Cf. her article on "Family" in *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, VI (1931 edition), p. 57.

gether in the same household is only natural. However, when the size of the family has grown so large as to comprise four or five generations, the head of the family is inevitably confronted with, among other things, the difficult problem of disciplining and educating the ever increasing numbers of children and training the wives of the younger generations.

The training of the daughters-in-law and grand-daughters-in-law, is entrusted to their mothers-in-law, especially to the patriarch's wife. After the first day of the wedding ceremony, the bride is carefully advised as to the behavior to be expected of her in conformance with the established traditions and rules of her new family. Should a breach of these conventions arise, the husband concerned is in difficulty. Unless he punishes his wife by word or act in public before the family it is most likely that he together with wife and children will be ostracized from the household. A son expelled on this ground is commonly regarded as unfilial and his conduct, therefore, is viewed as extremely disgraceful.¹³

The way in which the children are disciplined and educated is different. Under the large family system, a child is born into a group, a primary institution, and brought up in a milieu where, through personal contact and intimate reactions to each other, young and old, identification with and conformity to the family and its rules become more or less a natural process of integration. Members of a lower generation address members of the one immediately above reverently as fathers and mothers, and address each other as brothers and sisters. It is the feeling of "we" (not of "I" as in the family of the Western world), which is cherished, cultivated, and finally incorporated in the personality of the grown-up adults. "A Chinese," wrote Leong and Tao, "does not live for himself and for himself alone. He is the son of his parents, the descendant of his ancestors, the potential father of his children, and the pillar of the family."¹⁴ Observation of

the cardinal virtue, filial piety and obedience, is exhorted in the name of the ancestors, rewarded by the inheritance of the patrimony, and reinforced by the family traditions and rules which sanction punishment of any offender. It is the binding force of this virtue and of its far reaching effects that has reduced juvenile delinquency to a minimum in the Chinese family; and it is also this aspect of life which leads an able American observer to remark: "Of almost no moral law in any civilization can it be more confidently said that it is not honored in the breach. In fact it has become so deeply ingrained, so firmly interwoven in the unconscious, as to constitute almost a biological principle."¹⁵

The cultivation of a strong "we" feeling in family life naturally engenders an equally strong pride in the family. This pride is very persistent and popular among the high standing families, and has led not only to friendly relations and marriage arrangements, but also to family feuds and even bloody conflicts between families or clans in traditional China. The implications of this concept go far beyond the family's locality. When any member of the household has succeeded in gaining an official position, it is both his duty and his honor to get jobs for other members, capable or incapable, through his association and influence. A brilliant son may be supported not only by the resources of his immediate family, but many a large and prosperous clan generally makes practice of raising enough funds to support a gifted member to gain fame and position. This is done mainly on the ground that members of the entire family or clan may all be benefited some day.

THE FAMILY IN TRANSITION

The foregoing is a brief and generalized description of the traditional family system in China. Since the advent of Western influence in China a century ago, however, this traditional and time-honored system has begun to decay with ever-increasing speed. Modern education and the importation of Western ideas have gradually weakened the hold of Confucian teaching upon

¹³ In the Chinese society there are many comic stories and jokes told at the expense of the hen-pecked husband. Under the family system a wife could hardly domineer over her husband, and yet, when the rare event occurs it is sensational.

¹⁴ Leong and Tao, *op. cit.*, p. 68.

¹⁵ Nathaniel Pfeffer, *China: The Collapse of a Civilization*, New York: John Day Co., 1930, p. 39.

which most of the family ethics are based. Urbanization, together with the creation of job opportunities and of better living quarters for middle and upper classes, have affected a great number of people through a loss of traditional values.

This transition which has taken place in the Chinese family represents but a phase of a worldwide trend. It is a shifting of the center of family life from consanguinity to matrimony, or to adopt Dr. E. W. Burgess' terminology, from institution to companionship. The social change in China which has thoroughly shaken the traditional structure of society has shifted the emphasis of the family to comradeship. The whole process may be described in the following three stages:

(1) *The decline of the large family system.* The changes of socioeconomic environment since the turn of the century have brought about many effects fatal to the traditional family system in China. The intellectuals who have the responsibility of upholding the traditional model of the family are no longer interested in traditional ways of life. The rise in the cities and trade ports of the new group of "upstarts" in the form of compradors, big merchants, and warlords, rendered the situation in the family still worse. One common characteristic of this group of people is a weakness of conviction and virtue, traditional or Western, and yet an exploitation of all the privileges that work in their own favor under the old system. For instance, many of these parvenus, irrespective of their occupations, have not only bought domestic maids but also taken one or more attractive concubines of obscure and often disreputable origin, even though their formally married wives may still be alive and have borne to them many sons to bear the family names. They, as family heads, continue to exercise power and authority over their offspring in accordance with the prerogatives of the old patriarchy, but it now devolves upon the public schools and colleges to provide their education. In the household, because of heterogeneity of cultural background, enforcement of family rule is very difficult, and bitter dissensions and even licentious relations between family members and others are frequent.

In the villages, the breakdown of the large households is not so much the work of outside cultural impact as it is of the profound effects of economic forces. The ever-growing decay of the rural economy has forced many of the peasants' sons or daughters to leave home and to seek jobs elsewhere, and thus has reduced the family size to a minimum. Although the family of the landlord class is still relatively big and continues to be managed more or less along the traditional pattern, its educated sons or daughters, after completing their schooling, are most likely to stay away from home and set up their own small families in the cities.

(2) *The emergence of the conjugal family.* The real conjugal family in which the members live together both in spirit and in form is largely a phenomenon of the large cities and is found among Westernized intelligentsia. Failure to make distinctions between form and spirit has caused many writers, Western as well as Chinese, to exaggerate the prevalence of the conjugal type of family.¹⁶ The poor peasants in the villages may live in nominally conjugal families, but the way in which their wives and children are treated and disciplined is fundamentally traditional. The modernized professional is the only one whose economic independence from the support of the old household gives him freedom to marry the girl he loves, and whose college-educated wife cannot tolerate even a day of the mother-in-law's meddling in her business. Under the influence of modern education, the young talk about the out-datedness of the traditional family, and vigorously demand the right to choose their own mates, to set up their own conjugal families in the cities, and to live in their own way without interference.

(3) *The emancipation of women.* The destruction of the traditional family structure was accelerated by the revolutionary tide which has swept over China since 1946. The family system has been the target for heavy attack by the Chinese Communists. The spirit of family collectivism in terms of "we" feeling and group solidarity seems

¹⁶ Cf., for instance, the statistics gathered by Olga Lang in her *Chinese Family and Society*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1946, pp. 134-54.

to have been shifted to apply to the Party and the nation, while the low status of women, together with the frequent maltreatment of wives, concubines, daughters-in-law, and domestic maids, have been used to point out the evils of the traditional family system. In mass meetings and public trials, mistreated women are encouraged to voice their grievances against their husbands, parents-in-law, and others. These latter persons are severely condemned, and can scarcely escape some punishment. Enslaved maids begin to settle accounts with their former owners by demanding wages covering all past years.

The attempt of the Peking regime to bring about a fundamental revolution in the family system is being implemented by inculcating in the minds of people, and especially of the youth, new ideas with regard to marriage and the family. All the traditional family ethics and Confucian virtues are discarded as vestiges of feudalism.

Families are urged to sign "a pact of patriotism" under which all individual members pledge their allegiance to the nation, and not to any particular persons within the family. Hence, newspapers often report open trials, in which a wife accuses her husband, or a son or daughter brings charges against the father. Marriage is no longer taken as a matter involving two families as in traditional China, nor between two individuals as in the Western world, but a spiritual union of two comrades of different sexes; and the first task of the couple is to strengthen and cherish their commonly shared belief of communism, and then to engage in production to build a new society. The prospect of success of this indoctrination campaign cannot at present be estimated, but one thing seems certain: familism and the large family system as known historically are irretrievably gone from the land of the Middle Kingdom.

PRELIMINARY EVALUATION OF THE HIGHFIELDS PROJECT *

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ON the first of July 1950, a new type of detention facility was inaugurated in New Jersey. For some time prior to the opening of this facility there had been a demand for a place where certain youthful offenders could be sent for a relatively short period of time. This short-term sentence, it was felt, would serve as a sort of checkrein on boys, indicating to them what was in store if their delinquent acts were continued. Certain judges in New Jersey seemed to feel that an intermediate institution, standing between a reformatory on the one hand and

probation on the other, was needed. Judges are often in doubt whether to commit a boy to a reformatory or place him on probation.

Dr. F. Lovell Bixby, Deputy Commissioner of the Department of Institutions and Agencies of the State of New Jersey, drew up a plan incorporating the suggested short-term idea and adding a treatment program. Dr. Bixby's plan called for the establishment of a new facility to which youthful offenders could go for a short time while officially on probation, and during this period would participate in an intensive program of group therapy or interaction. Such a facility would meet the judges' needs. It would be helpful when they were in doubt. They could still place a boy on probation providing that he would agree to spend a relatively short term (up to four months) under the treatment program.

* Revision of a paper read at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Society, September 3-5, 1952. Thanks are extended to the members of the Research Division, Graduate Department of Sociology, who contributed in all stages in the preparation of this paper: Elizabeth Anne Betz, Tamara K. Obrebska, Oscar W. Ritchie, Sylvia Rohde Sherwood, Clarence C. Sherwood, Rosalind Sticker, William S. Walker, and Lewis Yablonsky.

The Charles Lindbergh home, which had been deeded to the State of New Jersey, was available and it was decided to establish the program there. Thus the Short-Term Treatment of Youthful Offenders Program came to be commonly known as the Highfields Project after the name of the estate. Dr. Bixby secured funds from the New York Foundation to support the administration of Highfields for a period of two years. Food, clothing, and other necessities are supplied out of the budget of the nearby State Village for Epileptics at Skillman, where the boys work in maintenance. In addition to these necessities Skillman also pays the boys fifty cents a day for the work they do.

Highfields accommodates at most twenty-one boys. In practice, the director tries to keep the number of boys who are there at any one time below this figure. The boys live together in certain rooms set aside for them. They eat in a common dining room with the director and his family. There are no bars on the windows and no guards anywhere. In fact, other than the director and his family there are only three adults at Highfields—the cook and her husband and the caretaker of the estate. Each morning the boys, with the exception of those assigned to K.P., are transported to Skillman, three or four miles from Highfields. Here they work at their assigned tasks until their return at the end of the work day. They are allowed to have visitors during the weekends and can even leave the grounds and go into the village of Hopewell if there is a responsible adult along. During weekends they go into Hopewell, attend the movies, have sodas at the local drug-store, and in other ways carry on activities which are of interest to boys. Five nights a week the boys are divided into two groups and meet with the director in the guided group interaction sessions.¹ After they have been at Highfields a certain length of time the boys, at the discretion of the director, are allowed to take furloughs over holidays and weekends back to their homes.

¹ For a full explanation of these sessions see the article by F. Lovell Bixby and Lloyd W. McCorkle, "Guided Group Interaction in Correctional Work," *American Sociological Review*, 16 (August, 1951), pp. 455-461, together with a discussion of the paper by George B. Vold.

Boys enter and leave Highfields almost every week. In this way the boys who are in residence are able to help integrate the new boys into the life at Highfields and the guided group interaction sessions.

Even in the earliest stages of the formulation of the Short-Term Treatment Program, Dr. Bixby and Dr. Lloyd W. McCorkle, the director, felt that an outside independent agency should attempt to evaluate the project and report on its effects in the treatment of the boys sent there. *The Vincent Astor Foundation* was interested in supporting this research and established a Scientific Advisory Committee² to review periodically the research findings.

A research design was drawn up which attempted to measure the success or failure of the facility by seeking answers to the following questions:

(1) Do boys undergoing the Highfields experience have lower, the same, or higher recidivist rates than boys undergoing other forms of treatment?

(2) Do boys undergoing the Highfields experience change their attitudes toward their families, law and order, and their own outlook?

(3) Do boys undergoing the Highfields experience change in personality manifestations?

Because of some administrative problems only delinquent boys sixteen and seventeen years of age were available for Highfields.³ It could be assumed, if Highfields did not exist, that almost all of the more serious delinquents as old as this would be sent to a reformatory, especially if they had a prior history of delinquency. A control group of boys of the same ages as those eligible for Highfields who were committed

² The Scientific Advisory Committee is composed of Professor Ernest W. Burgess, Chairman; Dr. J. Quinter Holsoption; Dr. Richard L. Jenkins; Dr. Walter C. Reckless; Mr. G. Howland Shaw; and Professor Wellman J. Warner. Dr. F. Lovell Bixby; Dr. Lloyd McCorkle; and Mr. Barklie Henry, a representative of the Vincent Astor Foundation to the Committee are ex officio members who attend the meetings.

Members of the Committee have been exceedingly helpful with their suggestions in the preparation of this paper.

³ Boys under this age would have to have school facilities provided and those over seventeen are out of the age range of the juvenile courts.

to the reformatory at Annandale was therefore decided upon. As Highfields developed, certain other criteria of eligibility were established. Boys who had formerly been committed to a state industrial school or other place of confinement were not accepted at Highfields. Boys believed to be sexual deviants were excluded, as were also pronounced pathological offenders. Only boys meeting these same criteria were included in the reformatory control group.

This is a preliminary report on the evaluation of the Highfields Project. It is preliminary in the sense that the research design calls for a five-year study and the results reported here are based on only the first seventeen months of this five-year period. This should be kept in mind in the analysis presented here. The tentative findings reported are used more to illustrate the type of evaluation being made than to demonstrate what the final conclusions may be.

A series of tests were developed in an attempt to answer the questions raised. In addition, a schedule for a case history of each boy is prepared and each boy is followed from the time his case is heard, through the respective facility and back into his community.

Each time a judge decides to send a boy to Highfields or to Annandale the research office is notified and one of the staff travels to the court, where the tests are administered to the boy. When a boy is released from Highfields the director notifies the research office and a member of the staff goes to the probation office and administers the same tests on the day the boy is released or the day following. Likewise, when a boy in the control group is released from Annandale the institution parole officer telegraphs the chief parole officer in the district which will supervise the boy that a Highfields control case is being released. The chief parole officer in turn notifies the research office and arrangements are made to meet with the parolee and administer the tests. Almost all of these boys are tested the day following their release from Annandale.

Because it is believed that there might be an inflationary effect reflected in the tests taken so soon after release, each boy still available is called in and takes all

the tests a third time, after he has been back in his community for six months.

In an attempt to ascertain whether persons who know a boy intimately see any changes in him after he has been out of his respective institution two months, another phase of the research was designed and has been carried on since November, 1951.⁴

The procedure for this phase of the research is as follows:

(1) At the time the boy is first interviewed—before he leaves the court for Highfields or Annandale—he is asked if he has any objections to our talking about him with one of his parents or another relative, a boy or girl friend, the proprietor of the place where he hangs out, a policeman or other representative of the law, and the probation officer. If he does not (we have had only one refusal so far) he is asked for names and addresses.

(2) Each of these persons is interviewed in order to find out about the boy's behavior at the time he gets into trouble.

(3) After the boy has been out of either institution two months, each of these persons is interviewed again, and is asked the same questions he was asked at the first interview. A comparison of the pre- and post-interview should show whether opinions and attitudes toward the boy have altered. It should indicate also whether there are any community situations which make it especially difficult for the lad to adjust.

From February 7, 1951 to July 15, 1952 (a period of seventeen months) 109 boys have been sent to Highfields and have been subjected to the tests. In addition, the research is keeping track of fifteen other boys who had been at Highfields prior to the inauguration of the formal research. Although Highfields officially opened the first of July 1950, Dr. McCorkle wanted a period of time to set up the procedures before the research was started. After it was decided that the research could commence, two months were needed to construct and pre-test the various instruments to be used.

By far most of these boys were sent to Highfields from the four counties in New

⁴ This additional research has been made possible by a grant-in-aid from the Rockefeller Foundation.

Jersey which have separate juvenile courts. These are Bergen, Essex, Hudson, and Union—the most populous counties of the state. Only seven boys have been sent from outside these counties: three from Monmouth, three from Middlesex, and one from Burlington.

Table 1 shows the current status of

TABLE 1. CURRENT STATUS OF THE 124 BOYS SENT TO HIGHFIELDS SINCE JULY 1950

Current Status	Num- ber	Per Cent
Returned to court while in residence	30	24
Before two months of residence	22	18
After two months of residence	8	6
Failed on probation after Highfields	12	10
Successful on probation after Highfields	67	54
Still at Highfields	15	12
	124	100

these boys. Because boys sent to Highfields are officially on probation they may be sent back to the court at any time at the discretion of the director. In order to make some arbitrary distinction among the boys returned before the end of the treatment period, it was decided to set up two categories. The first consists of boys who are returned to the court before half of their normal stay (four months) is over, and the second consists of boys who are returned to the court after two months of their stay but before they were officially released.

About half of this first group of twenty-two boys were at Highfields less than one month and some stayed no longer than a few days. In a few instances boys reported to Highfields, looked it over, and departed in a matter of hours. The probation officers are still looking for one of the most recent cases of this kind. Of these boys, sixteen were sent to Annandale or another detention facility, two were sent to the Diagnostic Center at Menlo Park, one was sent to a hospital, and two were continued on probation.

Of the eight boys who were returned to court after two months, six were sent to Annandale or another detention facility, one to the Diagnostic Center, and one was continued on probation.

During the same time span (17 months)

fifty-five boys who met the Highfields criteria have been sent to the reformatory from the same counties as have sent boys to Highfields.

There is no comparable category in Table 2 to that designated "Returned to

TABLE 2. CURRENT STATUS OF THE CONTROL GROUP OF 55 BOYS SENT TO ANNANDALE SINCE PROJECT WAS STARTED

Current Status	Num- ber	Per Cent
Transferred to another institution	2	4
Failed on parole after Annandale	9	16
Successful on parole after Annandale	14	25
Still at Annandale	30	55
	55	100

Court While in Residence." Two boys, however, have been transferred to Borden-town Reformatory, a maximum security institution.

Because of the much longer sentences of boys sent to Annandale—the sentences average around fourteen months—a much larger proportion of the control group boys are still in the institution than is the case at Highfields. This means, of course, that fewer have been released on parole. In addition to these fifty-five Annandale commitments, the nineteen boys who have been sent on to Annandale from Highfields are being followed.

The number of cases is not large enough to draw any final conclusions, but it is interesting to compare the results to date. Table 3 compares the boys who have left Highfields with the boys who have left Annandale:

TABLE 3. COMPARISON OF THE BOYS WHO HAVE LEFT HIGHFIELDS WITH THE BOYS WHO HAVE LEFT ANNANDALE

Current Status	Highfields		Annandale	
	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent
Sent to diagnostic center	3	3	..	..
Sent to hospital	1	1	..	..
Sent to another detention facility	22	20	2	8
Failed on probation or parole	12	11	9	36
Successful on probation or parole	71	65	14	56
	109	100	25	100

When all categories of boys who are not still in residence are considered, thirty-one per cent of the Highfields boys have been recommitted to another detention facility as against forty-four per cent of the Annandale boys—a difference of 13 percentage points.

The difference would be much more pronounced if it were not for the fact that during the latter part of March and the first part of April of last year about half of all the "returns to the court" took place. Six of these cases were involved in the only incidence of sodomy which has occurred at Highfields. Before this period there had been only scattered instances where boys had to be returned to the courts because they could not adjust under the permissive atmosphere prevailing at Highfields.

It is worth noting that one county contributes a disproportionate share of those who fail either at Highfields or after the boys have been released. This county, the most populous, has contributed fifty-one per cent of the Highfields population, but has contributed sixty-four per cent of those "returned to the court before two months", seventy-five per cent of those "returned to the court after two months," and eighty-three per cent of the failures on probation after release from Highfields. Only thirty-nine per cent of the successes have come from this county.

This same county has also contributed a large proportion of boys who have failed after they were released from Annandale and placed on parole. Seventy-two per cent of the sample of Annandale boys are from this county, whereas sixty-seven per cent of the failures after release from Annandale (as well as the two failures sent from Annandale to Bordentown) are from this county.

So far in the analysis, what differences there are in the two samples seem to favor Highfields. Even if the boys returned to the court from Highfields and sentenced to another detention facility are considered to be failures along with those who fail after release, the rate is thirty-one per cent for Highfields and forty-four per cent for Annandale; and many of those returned to the court were at Highfields for such a short period that they had no chance to experience the treatment program.

Another way of examining the success or failure of these two facilities is to use only the boys who have been released at the end of their full treatment period. Seventy-nine boys have been returned from Highfields to the supervision of their respective county probation departments. During the same period of time twenty-three boys have been released from Annandale to the supervision of their respective district parole offices. Table 4 shows the recidivist rates of these boys.

TABLE 4. COMPARISON OF THE RECIDIVIST RATES OF BOYS RELEASED FROM HIGHFIELDS AND ANNANDALE

Status of Boys Released	Highfields		Annandale	
	Num-ber	Per-Cent	Num-ber	Per-Cent
Failed on probation or parole	12	15	9	39
Successful on probation or parole	67	85	14	61
Total released	79	100	23	100

These figures, although based on very few cases, especially for Annandale, show that Annandale has a recidivist rate, for boys returned to their respective communities, two and one-half times higher than that of Highfields. This difference is not likely to occur by chance alone, even with these small numbers. This comparison takes into consideration the total treatment of the boys in each institution.

The figures just reported in a sense are actually weighted against Highfields, because Highfields boys are "on the street" a much longer period than the Annandale boys are, and are thus exposed much more to the risks of recidivism.

If the rate of recidivism is calculated on the basis of months of exposure, the recidivist rate for Highfields is eight per cent and that for Annandale is thirty per cent. On this basis the Annandale recidivist rate is three and three-quarters times higher than the Highfields rate.

A further way of showing this is to compare the length of time the recidivists were out of their respective institutions before they committed a new offense. The boys from the respective institutions show *on the average* that they are out about the same number of months before they violate, but

this is due to the fact that one of the Annandale boys was out over a year before he was apprehended for a new offense. In *proportionate distribution* forty-five per cent of the Annandale recidivists were apprehended for another offense in less than four months, whereas twenty-two per cent of those from Highfields were apprehended in this length of time.

Another result worth reporting is that Highfields seems to be much more successful than Annandale in treating Negroes. Fifty-five per cent of the Negroes released from Annandale on parole have violated and been returned to the institution, whereas only twenty-five per cent of the Negroes on probation from Highfields have become recidivists. It must be emphasized that these proportions are based on very few cases and should be considered extremely tentative.

The present study also seeks evidence concerning whether the boys change in personality or attitudes as a result of the Highfields experience. Three different tests are being administered to ascertain such changes. First, each boy is given the Holsopple-Miale Sentence Completion Test at the time of entrance and again when he leaves the respective institution. Second, each boy is given the Psychoneurotic Screening Adjunct developed during the war at the Troop Attitude Research Branch. Third, each boy fills out questionnaires which are intended to ascertain his attitudes toward his family, law and order, and his own morale.

At present there is not much to report on the results of these tests. Actually not all of them have been subjected to intensive and extensive analysis. For example, only about twenty pairs of the sentence completion tests have been analyzed. Dr. Holsopple has reviewed the early pre- and post-sentence completion tests of the Highfields boys. At the last meeting of the Advisory Committee he had this to say as a result of his inspection of the tests:

In some cases there are striking differences between the pre- and post-tests. The most conspicuous general change seems to be an increase in anxiety and concern as the boys move from unrealistic fantasy and defense to more realistic appreciation of their own problems. Thus, increase of anxiety which might in the treatment of neurotics appear as an unfavorable sign as further departure

from normalcy may in this situation reflect progress.

The tests need a much more detailed study and interpretation than has been devoted to them up to date. They do indicate, however, that the boys change as a result of their Highfields experience.

At the present time the schedules assaying the attitudes of the boys toward their families, law and order, and morale are being subjected to extensive analysis, using the Guttman method of scaling. Although far from complete, the analysis indicates that some boys change their scale positions between the pre- and post-tests, and for the most part the change is in a favorable direction.

On the other hand, an analysis of the psychoneurotic screening adjunct seems to show very little, if any, change between the pre- and post-tests of the Highfields boys. This is so whether the boys have returned to the court early or late in their stay at Highfields or failed after they have returned to their communities, or have been successful upon release. Table 5 shows these results.

TABLE 5. PERCENTAGE OF HIGHFIELDS BOYS WHO ARE CLASSIFIED EITHER PSYCHONEUROTIC OR NOT PSYCHONEUROTIC ON PRE- AND POST-TESTS

Classification	Pre-Test Percentages	Post-Test Percentages
Returned to court before two months of residence		
Psychoneurotic	30	34
Not psychoneurotic	70	66
Returned to court after two months of residence		
Psychoneurotic	28	32
Not psychoneurotic	72	68
Failed after release from Highfields		
Psychoneurotic	35	36
Not psychoneurotic	65	64
Successful after release from Highfields		
Psychoneurotic	32	35
Not Psychoneurotic	68	65

These proportions are based on the answers to a series of questions purporting to test the following types of areas:⁵

⁵ See Stouffer *et al.*, *Studies in Social Psychology*

- Worry—six questions
- Childhood fighting behavior—three questions
- Sociability—three questions
- Childhood neurotic symptoms—four questions
- Childhood relations with parents—five questions
- Childhood school adjustment—three questions
- Personal adjustment—six questions
- Oversensitivity—nine questions
- Psychosomatic complaints—15 questions

Although the over-all scores do not show differences, some of the particular areas do.

In contrast to the Highfields boys, the Annandale boys as a whole show a change in the proportion of psychoneurotic scores between the pre- and post-tests. Table 6 shows these results.

TABLE 6. PERCENTAGE OF ANNANDALE BOYS WHO ARE CLASSIFIED EITHER PSYCHONEUROTIC OR NOT PSYCHONEUROTIC ON PRE- AND POST-TESTS

Classification	Pre-Test Percentages	Post-Test Percentages
Failed after release from Annandale		
Psychoneurotic	44	31
Not psychoneurotic	56	69
Successful after release from Annandale		
Psychoneurotic	41	24
Not psychoneurotic	59	76

As can be seen both in the case of the failures and the successes, the proportion of psychoneurotic scores is reduced at the time of the post-test.

A comparison of Table 5 and Table 6 shows that the Annandale sample has a higher proportion of scores on the psychoneurotic side on the pre-test and a lower proportion on the post-test than does the Highfields sample.

It is understandable that the boys being sent to Annandale should show a somewhat higher proportion of scores in the psychoneurotic category than do the Highfields boys on the pre-test. At the time of the pre-test the boys know where they are being

in World War II, Vol. 4, *Measurement and Prediction*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1950, pp. 512-538, for the specific questions used.

sent. The boys going to Annandale may in their responses to the questions reflect their general anxiety and concern, whereas the boys going to Highfields do not have such strong reactions. Certainly it is observable already in talking to the boys that they would much rather be sent to Highfields than to Annandale.

The post-tests may be a reflection of the elation that the Annandale boys feel after serving their sentences and being released.

These findings are rather amazing in the light of the differences in the recidivist rates between the two institutions. Apparently whatever is measured by this type of information has little, if any, relation to the differences in the success or failure rates of the boys from each institution.⁶

There does seem to be a slight tendency for the boys who are successful after release from Annandale to show a lower proportion of psychoneurotic scores on the post-test than do boys who failed after release from Annandale.

The analysis of the data will be more revealing as the study proceeds. As more cases are gathered it will be possible to hold some of the many complex factors constant in an attempt to discover the relationships which must exist. It will also be possible to see just how much the control group of Annandale boys differs from the Highfields group.

The data are too incomplete to present a report at this time on the community phase of the research. cursory analysis does seem to indicate that individuals in the community close to the boys often report differences in

⁶ Dr. Jenkins' comments about these findings:

To me the obvious interpretation of the reduction in the scores of the Annandale boys on the psychoneurotic screening adjunct during their stay at Annandale is that in the delinquent processing which goes on at an institution like Annandale, they become increasingly accepting of themselves as delinquents and any conflicts which they may have about it diminish. They become more at peace within themselves, more content to blame society for their failures, and have fewer obstacles of conscience to the continuance of a predatory pattern.

For a full statement of Dr. Jenkins' position on which this statement is based see: L. E. Hewitt and R. L. Jenkins, *Fundamental Patterns of Maladjustment*, Springfield, Illinois: 1945, p. 86, or *American Journal of Psychiatry*, 14 (July, 1934), p. 92.

their behavior after they have been at Highfields. As a general conclusion at this intermediate point in the Highfields evaluation it seems evident that Highfields accomplishes as much, if not more, in its four months of

residential treatment as the reformatory at Annandale does in its more than twelve months. Highfields may even do better, but such results can only be known after more cases are analyzed in the years ahead.

VALUES AND THE FIELD OF COMPARATIVE SOCIOLOGY *

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THE field of social anthropology—or comparative sociology, as Radcliffe-Brown would have it—rests upon sociological conceptualizations and anthropological data. The problem is more than interdisciplinary: the sociologist's penchant for broad general theory is contrasted to the ethnologist's concern with detailed cultural data. The immediate need is for more modest theory on one hand, and more conceptualized comparative ethnography on the other. The purpose of the present paper is to discuss this intermediate area with respect to one very crucial element, namely the analysis of values.

The theoretical orientation is properly with sociology rather than with anthropology, for the comparative sociologist is concerned with social explanation, rather than cultural. That is, he tries to derive generalizations about behavior of persons in groups, rather than about cultural continua; to seek both the sociological imperatives that operate irrespective of particular cultures and the sociologically derived variations between cultural forms. Yet the data are inevitably drawn from anthropological literature, for it is impossible to derive sociological generalizations from an increasingly minute examination of a single cultural system, as this offers no method for distinguishing cultural directives from the sociological imperatives.

By cultural directives is meant those habitual patterns of meeting life; by social imperatives is meant those insistent interpersonal problems that every culture must face. For man is committed to living in society, and group life requires certain or-

ganizational features through which each individual compromises his personal interests with the demands of others. Social imperatives are then those general organizational features that are requisite to the continuation of social life irrespective of cultural form.

In a recent paper, Aberle, *et al.*, used the term functional prerequisites in very nearly the same way.¹ They focused their attention on function rather than directing it to the organizational demands: the need for small action groups, the allocation of status and definition of role, the need for leadership, the sanctioning of a moral code, and the need for a common value orientation. It is to the last of these universal organizational needs that the present paper is devoted.

The term values has been so variably and broadly used in the past few years that there is a temptation to introduce a new word for the precise concept needed—particularly since a perfect term exists in the language from which neologisms are properly derived. The Greek word *arete* carries the meaning of those qualities of person, circumstance, and position that distinguish an individual of honor from the run of the mill, and hence those qualities which are the desiderata, the goals, the hopes and expectations of every proper person within a culture.² The words values and arete are used interchangeably here, and in either case they have this more particular

¹ D. F. Aberle, A. K. Cohen, A. K. Davis, M. J. Levy, Jr., and F. X. Sutton, "The Functional Prerequisites of a Society," *Ethics*, LX (January, 1950).

² Werner Jaeger, *Paideia, The Ideals of Greek Culture*, translated by Gilbert Highet, 3 Vols. London: Oxford Press, 1939-1944.

* Paper read at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Society, September 3-5, 1952.

sense, narrower than that of Parsons and Kluckhohn, of Lundberg, or of Florence Kluckhohn.³

This phenomenon of arete may be a universal characteristic of society—a necessary aspect of social organization if a population is to be more than an aggregate of individuals. This is an assertion of the universality of elites, but it is also more. It is an argument that culture must provide a form of conduct which its members consider ideal; must provide with a special status those that fulfill this behavioral pattern, and must symbolize this ideal quality with honors, possessions or special privileges. Arete then has these three components: status, role, and symbolic representation. These three are always packed as a unit, so that a person within the culture regularly reads from one to another. Indeed, one may question whether it is proper to refer to the symbol of arete, since these symbols are the tangible and actual goals to conduct. At any rate, the participants regularly associate these components, regularly assume that a person possessed of the symbols has the qualities, and that persons with proper attributes are filling the statuses of the elite. When they know better they rationalize away the lack of concordance, just as failure in magic is rationalized away. We must then think of the status, the role and the symbolic representation as parts of a single whole, for that is the logic of cultural behavior.

Perhaps an illustration will make the point more clearly. Within the business culture of modern America, the business man is supposed to be honest, aggressive, industrious and assiduously concerned with his own interest. Such conduct appropriately followed leads to wealth, which offers a means for the public proclamation of the social position that gives him respect in the

community. In the case of the academic man, we have a different, but equally well-defined appropriate conduct, by means of which we attain status in the academic community, and which is symbolized by various honors, degrees, a publication record, membership in learned societies and appearances in symposia.

It is suggested then that all social systems must have a definition of arete, though the particular qualities and the nature of the symbolic representations may show infinite variety. It is further suggested that the determination of the valued qualities or elements is the first and most crucial task in the understanding of the social organization of any community. For the value system relates not only to matters of prestige, but also defines status and the nature of social class, acts as a basis for leadership and power within the society, and sets the tone of behavior that dominates the culture.

The value system in any culture continues through the mechanism of the self-fulfilling prophecy.⁴ That is to say, the close association between value symbols, desired status, power and prestige, and forms of behavior will be mutually supportive. The youth in the society will see that those persons who have prestige and power also have the symbolic elements in arete, so that they will in turn direct their attention to these value symbols as means to achieve similar social goals. Indeed, the association between personal position and the cultural definition of arete is offered as a condition of life, rather than as a matter of choice, much as we take the need to work as a necessary condition of life.

Insofar as societies are characterized by achieved status, the conduct will be inculcated as a means of achievement—the high status and their symbolic representations will be held out as goals or rewards for “good conduct.” Where, on the other hand, the elite is preordained by birth, the conduct is inculcated as behavior appropriate to the established position; a natural and necessary attribute of the elite. Insofar as societies may be distinguished in terms of achieved versus ascribed status, the association between behavior and goals is altered

³ Talcott Parsons and Edward Shils, Eds., *Toward a General Theory of Action*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1951. See especially the chapter by Clyde Kluckhohn, Part IV, Sec. 2, “Values and Value-Orientations in the Theory of Action: An Exploration in Definition and Classification.” George A. Lundberg, “Human Values: A Research Program,” *Research Studies of the State College of Washington*, XVIII (1950). Florence Kluckhohn, “Dominant and Substitute Profiles of Cultural Orientations,” *Social Forces*, 28 (May, 1950), pp. 376-393.

⁴ Robert K. Merton, “The Self-Fulfilling Prophecy,” *Antioch Review*, 8 (Summer, 1948), pp. 193-210.

but the closeness of that association is not impaired.

It is not possible to prove that arete is in fact an imperative element to social systems, but only to demonstrate its existence in a variety of cultures. For instance, it is shown in that classic of anthropology, the Arunta, that the opportunity for an Arunta to see his own Churinga and those of his totem ancestors represents a value symbol which is internalized by the male members of Arunta society. The description by Spencer and Gillen of the fulfillment of this privilege leaves no doubt on this score.⁵ It is important to appreciate, however, that this opportunity to see one's Churinga is made available only after the individual has demonstrated his capacity for proper conduct according to the Arunta code of behavior. Spencer and Gillen make explicit that the privilege is determined by the old men, who already have this privilege and who delay the appropriate initiation ceremonies until they are sure of the neophyte's maturity, as modern psychologists would say. But having gained this privilege—having viewed their Churinga—they now are among the Arunta elite, demonstrating the nature of Arunta arete to the lesser members of their community. It seems appropriate to say that the Arunta male internalizes this privilege as a goal, and that this goal orientation makes him willing to conform to the cultural directives of his community; that the requisite compliance leads him to a position of prestige and power in the community as defined by the Arunta.

The Plains Indians offer another classic example. In the proto-historic period, the chief activities of the men were warfare and the hunt, which require agility, endurance, and bravery. The arete of a Plains man involved a strict self-discipline, a religiously inspired and supported endurance of pain and hardship, and a bravery verging on the suicidal. These values were expressed by the vision quest, by stealing horses and counting coup. The successful development of these attributes led to an important place of honor in the affairs of the tribe, either directly or through the acquisition of wealth with which such honors could be purchased.

An alternate value orientation for males in Plains society allowed them to engage in women's work, but this in no way impairs the theoretical position. We must merely note that among primitive people as among ourselves, there may be alternative value patterns for significant subdivisions of the total community; "substitute profiles," to use Florence Kluckhohn's phrase.⁶ Where the value pattern is as delimited and as harsh as that of the Plains, it might very well be necessary for alternative patterns to be institutionalized to prevent organized resistance against the dominant values.⁷

The Indians of Northwest California held certain ceremonial objects (particularly white deerskins and flint blades) to be their wealth, and the acquisition of such goods was internalized as the prime goal of all members of these societies.⁸ These goals functioned as directives to behavior, and the acquisition of such wealth was evidence of the quality of the person, and could, in theory at least, only be accumulated through appropriate deportment. The ownership of such goods enabled a person to perform prestigious acts, such as organizing religious dances, and was an important determinant of his power and influence.⁹

The Indians of the Northwest Coast offer the most obvious example of culturally established value orientations. Here the symbols are a series of crests, certain goods such as "coppers" and blankets, and above all the giving of a potlatch.¹⁰ These goods are directly associated with certain honored positions and indeed the potlatch (which has dramatically and erroneously been charged with leaving a man destitute) is a public claim to such position, and to the control

⁶ Florence Kluckhohn, *op. cit.*

⁷ References here are too numerous to mention. Murdock's summary of Crow culture will suffice here. George P. Murdock, *Our Primitive Contemporaries*, New York: Macmillan, 1935, pp. 283-285.

⁸ Walter Goldschmidt, "Ethics and the Structure of Society: An Ethnological Contribution to the Sociology of Knowledge," *American Anthropologist*, 53 (1951), pp. 507-524.

⁹ Walter Goldschmidt and Harold Driver, "The Hupa White Deerskin Dance," *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology*, 35 (1940), pp. 103-142.

¹⁰ Again, there are many references. The most recent analysis is Helen Codere, *Fighting with Property*, Monograph of the American Ethnological Society XVIII, New York, 1951.

⁵ Sir Baldwin Spencer, and F. J. Gillen, *The Arunta: A Study of a Stone Age People*, New York: Macmillan, 1927, especially Chapter VI.

of property which goes with that position.¹¹ The dictates to behavior, that is, the personal qualities that go into the making up of arete, are equally sharp—aggressive, hostile, proud, quick to take resentment, and zealous in maintaining “face.”

But what of the Pueblos—for Benedict has directed our thoughts to this contrast? The values are different. The personal qualities, the symbols, the positions are not like those of the Northwest Coast or the Plains, but they are nevertheless differentiating. Note, for instance, what Ruth Bunzel says: “In Zuni a poor man has no special knowledge or position in the ceremonial system. A valuable man has knowledge and prestige.”¹² And An-Che Li points out that it is easy for us to assume that leadership is not sought by those quiet subdued people, but notes that there are in fact many public functionaries with well-guarded prerogatives.¹³ Arete consists of ceremonial position, knowledge of dances and religious lore, and behavior characterized by a careful muting of personal ambition by religious zeal and by indirection. The Zuni and their Pueblo neighbors do not provide a negative case. They show rather a clear but different pattern of values which act as goals, and they show that the nature of these goals is functionally related to a particular type of personality.

Melanesia offers several different value systems centered in secret society positions, head-hunting success, or yam harvest. The importance of yams among the Trobriand Islanders, for example, directs our attention to the relation between values and economic ends.¹⁴ The fact that the size of his yam

crop largely establishes the status of the gardener has led some to an assumption of naive economic determinism. This idea is abandoned when we learn that the gardener does not benefit from his own work and that, indeed, yams are allowed to rot in elaborate public display.

Yet economic forces are not altogether to be gainsaid. Farming is an important capacity. Though self-interest is not directly at work, it is nevertheless true that the symbol of abundant yams gives ideological support to the most crucial form of economic activity; that it therefore sanctions a mode of behavior of high economical utility—the skillful and assiduous gardener. And in Melanesia, arete is explained in terms of religious belief: to have a good yam harvest, a man must have *mana*. To have *mana*, one must make excellent harvest. The concept of *mana* generalizes that which is virtue and power in the individual and the social symbol is the verification of that quality, not only to the public but to the individual himself.

The Trobriand Islands example raises the question of the economic implications of the value system. Repeatedly we see a relationship between such symbolic representations of status and elementary economic activity: the cattle of Africa, the horses of the Plains Indians, land in peasant communities. But on closer examination, our notions of direct economic importance are often wide of the mark—cattle are perhaps not important as food; the land, perhaps valued in relation to its antiquity rather than to its productivity; horses become a burden, and the wealth of the Northwest Coast Indians is lavishly destroyed in ritualized conspicuous waste. Such a direct connection is erroneous because it implies our own cultural assumptions about work, productivity, wealth and power—in Weber's terms “economic rationalism.”¹⁵ This is no place to enter into the comparative sociology of rationality; the intention is to note that there is a means-end relationship between, say, a muted personality and the acquisition of ceremonial position among the Zuni. Economic calculus is replaced by another kind, which we may call status calculus. And

¹¹ Viola E. Garfield, *Tsimshian Clan and Society*, University of Washington Publications in Anthropology, Vol. 7, No. 3 (February, 1939).

¹² Ruth Bunzel, Introduction to Zuni Ceremonialism, *Annual Report of the U. S. Bureau of American Ethnology*, p. 617, 1929-1930.

¹³ An-Che Li, “Zuni: Some Observations and Inquiries,” *American Anthropologist*, 39 (1937), pp. 62-76. The recent monograph by Aberle is still more telling: David F. Aberle, “The Psychosocial Analysis of a Hopi Life History,” *Comparative Psychology Monographs*, 21 (December, 1951).

¹⁴ Note, for example: “And to those natives who are pre-eminent as gardeners, chiefs or magicians, it also means *butura* (renown) and the satisfaction of vanity.” Bronislaw Malinowski, *Coral Gardens and Their Magic*, New York: American Book Company, 1935, p. 82.

¹⁵ Note, for instance, in *The Religion of China*, Weber recognizes other equally potent rational patterns based upon non-economic premises, pp. 247 ff.

economic calculus emerges as but a special case of status calculus.

Though the relation between value orientations and the economic order is not simple economic determinism, their repeated association is not fortuitous. It is here tentatively suggested that the personal attributes that define the elite are in fact those very attributes which make for economic usefulness; that, further, the value objects themselves tend to symbolize economic virtues. Thus, horses represent valor and agility, useful equally to the warrior and the hunter of the plains, while the harsh desert life of the Hopi and Zuni requires cooperation appropriately symbolized by the ceremonial unity of action. It is at this level that a connection between values and the economy must be seen rather than on the direct level.

But what of those societies which ascribe elite position by circumstance of birth? Do they in fact recognize personal attributes which have a functional connection with the economic order? Perhaps personal attributes are requisite but are trained into pre-selected persons; it appears clear that the proper Bostonian has a rigorous definition of personal behavior and personality. Furthermore, these attributes are in fact those which do (or formerly did) hold direct economic importance in the managerial if not in the productive functions. And failure to fulfill these requisite characteristics places an individual outside the system, in the manner of abdicated monarchs. Without denying the importance of the distinction between achieved and ascribed status, it still is possible that we can make too much of the dichotomy.

As one further consideration, we may propose that the field of comparative sociology can go beyond the demonstration of social universals—it must also concern itself with co-variation. This has been a crucial problem since Tylor wrestled with "adhesions," and continues today with the work of Murdock and the British social anthropologists.¹⁶ The term "requisite functional relationship" has already been suggested in an earlier paper to express the idea that

certain cultural solutions in one area or institution make necessary (whether as a precondition or as a result) particular cultural solutions in another aspect or institution of society.¹⁷ This idea may be briefly applied to the problem of values.

Consider this dual proposition: Land will not serve as a value symbol in hunting-gathering societies, but will regularly serve as a symbol in peasant communities.¹⁸

It is this absence of land as a symbol of value that has led to the earlier controversy over primitive communism, which was factually correct but theoretically wide of the mark. It is not necessary to enumerate those societies in which tribe or band is the land-holding unit, but merely to note that this is generally the case. There are a few exceptions, and we will proceed by examining the nature of these in order to test the rule. First, there are the family hunting territories of Northeastern North America.¹⁹ These appear to be trapping lines for proto-historic and historic fur trading. Though they may have had greater antiquity, they do not seem to rest upon general land ownership but upon the establishment and maintenance of a particular route and hence upon an investment of labor rather than in the land as such. At any rate, land does not appear to represent a possession which differentiates persons in terms of prestige or status in the community of these hunting peoples. The second example is the clan-held rights to land and fishing places of the Tlingit of Northwestern America and their neighbors. Here the ownership of property—real estate—is clear and important. The sites owned are real resource property, they are jealously guarded and the economic implications of such ownership have not been adequately appreciated.²⁰ But this property is not individu-

¹⁷ Walter Goldschmidt, "Ethics and the Structure of Society," *op. cit.*

¹⁸ Peasant or folk communities are here defined as those space-limited and tradition-dominated agricultural social systems which lie within a politically organized state.

¹⁹ For a summary, *vide* Julian Stewart, "Economic and Social Basis of Primitive Bands," in *Essays in Anthropology in Honor of Alfred L. Kroeber*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1936, especially pp. 338-339.

²⁰ D. S. Davidson, "Family Hunting Territories in Northwestern North America," *Indian Notes and*

¹⁶ George P. Murdock, *Social Structure*, New York: Macmillan, 1950. For the British school, see particularly S. F. Nadel, *Foundations of Social Anthropology*, Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1951.

ally held, it is clan property, and redounds to the prestige of this larger entity. Furthermore, there is evidence that these clans were at one time territorial units; that is, we come back to the recognition that the property differentiated between communities and thus is a matter of territoriality; it did not differentiate in values between the members of a single community. It appears that the development of large towns in the Northwest Coast is a result of the economic influence of the fur trade in the proto-historic period.

The only truly private ownership of resource property among pre-agricultural peoples known to the writer is found among the Indians of Northwest California—the Yurok, Hupa, and Karok.²¹ Here land is both a source of economic security and a measure of prestige. It is largely fishing rights, but applies to gathering and to hunting as well. A person must own land to have high status, and land is a value symbol as well as an economic resource. This unusual circumstance is made possible by the unusual ecological fact that certain locations can be exploited by only one or two persons at a time and have permanent continuous value as fishing sites. Similarly the gathering of acorns allowed for a perennial cropping. The privately owned hunting places do not apply to the land at large, but to certain narrow defiles in which the hunting of large game is particularly profitable. The practice of land ownership does not apply to the chase, and thus not to all land. These facts lead to a self-evident but nonetheless important realization; namely, that land does not usually symbolize value among hunting-gathering peoples because under normal circumstances it cannot be exploited individually. It suggests, therefore, that there is in fact a direct, if negative, relationship between the economic order and the value system.

The second part of our proposition was that land is regularly a value among

Monographs, No. 46, American Museum of Natural History, Heye Foundation, 1928.

Walter Goldschmidt, and Theodore H. Haas, *Possessory Rights of the Natives of Southeastern Alaska*, Report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1946. Viola E. Garfield, *op. cit.*

²¹ Alfred L. Kroeber, *Handbook of the Indians of California*, Washington: Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 78, 1925.

peasants. We find this true throughout Europe, as witness Arensberg's work for Ireland, and Sanders' on the Balkans.²² It is equally true for China and Japan.²³ It is not necessary to proliferate examples known to all. The only area in which we have peasant societies where land is not a prime value appears to have been in native Latin America, under the existing state system—and then only occasionally so. This would appear to be directly associated with slash and burn agriculture, where the economic worth of a *milpa* is not so much in the transitory usefulness of the land, as in the labor that has been invested in it. Thus there is the great value in "making *milpa*"—i.e. being a successful farmer rather than in the land itself.²⁴ Where land can be permanently used, either because of special circumstances of environment and technology, or because of the introduction of the plow, ox, and fertilization from Europe, there appears to have been value in land.²⁵ In one study, land was a primary value item, though *milpa* production required that land must lie fallow for many years.²⁶

The recurrence of land as a value symbol in peasant societies is a general and regular feature except under those environmental

²² Conrad M. Arensberg, *The Irish Countryman, an Anthropological Study*, London: Macmillan, 1937.

Irwin T. Sanders, *Balkan Village*, Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1949.

²³ Martin C. Yang, *Taitou: A Chinese Village*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1947. John Embree, *Suye Mura*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939.

²⁴ Robert Redfield, *The Folk Culture of Yucatan*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941, pp. 170 ff.

²⁵ George M. Foster, *Empire's Children: The People of Tzintzuntzan*, Washington: Institute of Social Anthropology, Smithsonian Institution, Publication No. 6, 1948, pp. 169 ff.

Among the Tarascans, according to Robert C. West, the land was once held communally, but there has been a shift to private ownership where possible and "even in the few remaining pueblos which claim complete communal ownership, a strong individualization of property has developed." *Cultural Geography of the Modern Tarascan Area*, Washington: *ibid.*, Publication No. 7, 1948, pp. 32-33. *Vide* also Ralph L. Beals, *Cherán: A Sierra Tarascan Village*, Washington: *ibid.*, Publication No. 2, 1946.

²⁶ George M. Foster, *A Primitive Mexican Economy*, New York: Monographs of the American Ethnological Society, 1942.

and technical conditions where land cannot hold permanent value, and even here there appears to be a tendency toward bringing land to an important place wherever conditions permit.

Our proposition is not proved but is promising: there is a requisite functional relationship between land as a value symbol and the character of the economy—negative in the case of hunting-gathering peoples and positive in the case of folk or peasant communities. And if there is such a functional relationship here, it suggests that there is a more general nexus between the definition of arete and the character of economic life.

This paper has been directed to two purposes. First, and more broadly, an attempt has been made to show the two ways in which social anthropology should contribute to the development of general sociological theory. These are the establishment of (1) general social imperatives, and (2) requisite functional relationships between certain cul-

tural forms in different departments of social life.

To fulfill this broad purpose, empirically based examples were offered. The first serves to demonstrate that societies universally establish certain behavioral forms as particularly valued, that such behavior is associated with culturally desirable social position and is represented symbolically to fellow members by desired honors, possessions, or privileges. This arete is viewed as a necessary element—a general social imperative—for the maintenance of a society. The second example has endeavored to show that the specific form that arete takes in any single culture is related to other aspects of culture, in what we may call a requisite functional relationship, and the paper has illustrated this point by relating value symbols to forms of economic organizations. These illustrations constitute the second purpose; namely, the introduction of substantive theoretical analysis through the comparative examination of cultural systems.

STUDENT REACTION TO IMPENDING MILITARY SERVICE

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THE present generation of college men faces, along with other young men, the prospect of being called upon to serve in this country's armed forces. Such compulsory service during peacetime is a new development in the military policy of the United States. It will call for a readjustment of the normal transition from teen-ager to young adult, involving an interruption in educational and vocational plans and requiring the acceptance of a period of personal sacrifice. This change in the ordinary course of "growing up" offers the sociologist the opportunity to study the "redefinition" of a situation for which no previous model of behavior exists.

This research report constitutes an attempt to determine the students' "definition of the situation" concerning impending military service. How do they feel about being drafted and what factors play an important part in determining these attitudes? The prospect

of entering the armed forces is a very real one for most college students and they may be expected to show great concern and to have well-formulated attitudes about a step which is so crucial to their life-plans. The study therefore may be viewed as a detailed analysis of the components entering into attitude formation in an area which has these important characteristics: (1) The attitude is a new one, that is, it concerns an object toward which the individual has formed his opinion only recently with little previous thought; (2) It is a highly personal area of strong and immediate concern; (3) The attitude is formed while the individual is a member of the group most affected by the subject in question and while he has the opportunity to feel all of the group pressures engendered by the subject; (4) The object of the attitude is very "real," that is, military service is not some hypothetical concept but rather an immediate and inescapa-

ble fact; (5) The attitude area relates to the moral values and democratic principles of the larger society.

In addition to studying the factors influencing attitude formation, the present research has more general relevance for an understanding of the place of authority and law in society. The Selective Service Act, a formal piece of national legislation applying directly to the subjects of this study, was passed without the direct consent of the group to which it applies. The consequences of the law are unpleasant to the group and require a major sacrifice from individuals called into service. The law itself is based upon the accepted right of the nation to require its youth to bear arms in times of emergency. However, the existing state of emergency is a matter of great public debate—by no means a matter of general consensus; and the law itself was passed by a bare majority of legislators. In the absence of such general agreement, it is certainly significant for our general understanding of laws in a democratic society to study how this particular law is being received by the group which is most directly affected, at the same time that it had no voice in the formulation of the law.

DESIGN OF THE STUDY

Eleven universities cooperated in the administration of a written questionnaire to a representative cross-section of the male undergraduate student body attending the university.¹ The anonymous questionnaires were completed by 80 per cent of the randomly selected students during the months of April and May, 1952. From the total sample, a composite cross-section of 2,975 students

¹ Grateful acknowledgment is made of the wholehearted cooperation of the following individuals and universities: Albert H. Hastorf, Dartmouth College; Donald N. Elliott, Wayne University; Preston Valien, Fisk University; William S. Robinson and S. F. Camilleri, University of California, Los Angeles; Daniel O. Price, University of North Carolina; David C. McClelland and Martha Williamson, Wesleyan University; Peter Rossi, Harvard University; Fred L. Strodtbeck, Yale University; Dwight Chapman and Walter Crockett, University of Michigan; Wayne Holtzman, University of Texas. The study was made possible by financial support and sponsorship generously provided by The Carnegie Corporation of New York.

was selected in proportion to the size of the male undergraduate student body at each university.²

SELECTIVE SERVICE LEGISLATION

Under the provisions of the Selective Service Act of 1948 and its subsequent revisions and amendments, all male citizens of the United States from eighteen and a half through twenty-five years of age are subject to military call unless specifically exempted or deferred. Despite the fact that this age-range includes the normal ages for college attendance, the policies of the Selective Service system, thus far, have permitted a considerable proportion of college men to continue their studies. Altogether in the 18 and a half through 25-year-age group subject to the draft, about 3,360,000 registrants have been deferred. Of these three and a third million deferments, six per cent are classified as students.

Student deferments are based mainly upon two criteria of intellectual ability. The first is the student's relative academic standing in his class; the second is his proof of general intellectual competence as evidenced by a satisfactory score on the Selective Service College Qualification Test which all students are urged, but not compelled, to take. Both measures are relatively lenient: a freshman in the upper one-half of males in his college class; a sophomore in the upper two-thirds; juniors and seniors in the upper three-quarters, are considered to be eligible for deferment. A grade of 70 on the Selective Service Test is considered satisfactory and a student who received such a grade is recommended for deferment even if his class standing is below the level indicated.

Membership in the advanced reserve units of the various military services (compulsory at many colleges; optional at some; unavailable at a few) offers the student further opportunities for deferment. In general, such

² A comparison of the eleven universities on eight major scale variables included in the study revealed that the individual universities differ from the mean for all universities together by only 4.5 per cent. This result indicates that, while the sample is definitely not a representative cross-section of all American college students, the findings may be viewed as probably applicable to a large proportion of the male college students throughout the United States.

advanced reserve standing, however, extends the period during which the student will be expected ultimately to serve, and also extends the period of his eligibility for induction.³

FRAMEWORK OF THE ANALYSIS

For the student's definition of the military service situation, college students are not "the Youth of the Nation" and the Selective Service Act is not "a Patriotic Call to Arms." An apt parallel may be made with the reactions of the average American adult to the income tax law. In both cases a sub-group of

The listing below shows the hypothesized interrelationships and is a schematic representation of the major dimensions comprising the student's picture of the present military situation.

In each case the variable analyzed has been measured by a series of scale questions which have been tested and found to constitute meaningful single dimensions. Only the content-area is listed in the schematic model; owing to space limitations, individual questions making up each scale have been omitted. However, the number of questions and the Guttman coefficient of reproducibility

HYPOTHESIZED INTERRELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN VARIABLES

Independent Variables ("Causal" factors)	Dependent Variable ("Effect" factor)
<i>Ideological</i>	<i>Attitude to Service</i> (7 questions; .94)
Duty to Serve (5 questions; .91)	Intensity of Feeling (Quasi-scale)
Attitude to Korean Situation (3 questions; .96)	Concern about Serving (3 questions; .97)
<i>Military</i>	Guilt (3 questions; .97)
Attitude to War (5 questions; .94)	
Attitude to Armed Forces (4 questions; .94)	
Attitude to Selective Service (no scale)	
<i>Personal</i>	
Disruption of Plans (3 questions; .95)	
Relative Deprivation (1 question)	
Attitude of Friends and Family (2 questions)	

the population is asked to make a sacrifice for the good of the whole, with the conditions of obedience clearly specified and legally defined. "Acceptance" of such legal requirements clearly rests upon a wide variety of factors.

In the present case, "attitude to being called into service" may be viewed as the major dependent variable under investigation—one which is, in turn, dependent principally upon three other sets of independent variables: (1) personal factors—individual plans and needs; (2) ideological factors—conviction and political opinion; (3) situational factors—conceptions or evaluation of military life. By examining the interrelationships among these variables, the present analysis will attempt to determine the relative importance with which each of these variables affects the student's willingness or reluctance to enter into military service.

³ For a concise summary of Selective Service provisions and the current manpower situation, see National Man-power Council, *Student Deferment and National Man-power Policy*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1952, Part Two.

bility appear in parentheses for each attitude scale. Sample questions appear in an Appendix.

According to this analytical schema, the dependent variable constituting the central concept for analysis will be the student's attitude toward being called into the Armed Forces (Attitude-to-Service Scale). In relation to this dependent variable, we shall examine those major independent variables which may be thought of as "causal" factors influencing the student's attitude toward being called. These variables are of three general types: first, there are the ideological factors indexed by scales which measure the student's acceptance of military service as a necessary obligation (Duty-to-Serve Scale) and his faith in the worthwhileness of the present Korean conflict (Attitudes-toward-Korean War Scale). The major hypotheses are that attitude to service will be more positive, the more the student accepts such service as a duty or obligation and the more he believes that the present Korean conflict is worth fighting.

A second set of independent variables

concerns the specific type of situation involved—the military factors. Attitude toward service is expected to be related to the student's basic attitude toward war (Attitude-toward-War Scale), his specific conception of military life in the U. S. armed forces (Attitude-toward-Armed Forces Scale), and finally, his favorable or unfavorable opinion concerning deferment and the Selective Service Act.⁴ In the case of this second set of "causal" factors, it is expected that the student who is more favorably disposed to the use of militaristic means, who has a more favorable picture of life in the U. S. armed forces, and who is more satisfied with the provisions of Selective Service legislation, will be generally more willing to enter the armed forces.

Finally, the effect of certain personal variables upon the student's attitude to being called will be examined. The major emphasis here will be upon the extent to which the student views military service as a serious disruption in his life-plans (Disruption-of-Plans Scale). It is expected that students who feel that their lives will be disrupted by military service will be less favorably disposed toward serving.

Another expectation is that feelings of relative deprivation will have an effect upon the student's attitude to service. The feeling that one is being called upon to sacrifice more than others (Relative Deprivation) is expected to have a negative effect upon attitude toward service. Finally, it is expected that the student whose friends and parents are more unfavorable to the idea of his serving will also tend to express a less positive attitude toward service.

Attitude toward being called into service, the major focus of attention in this paper, will be further analyzed in terms of the intensity with which the attitude is held (Intensity Scale), the degree of ego involvement or salience with which military service is viewed (Concern-about-Serving Scale), and the anxiety or guilt reactions accompanying attitude toward service (Guilt Scale). These components will permit a more intensive

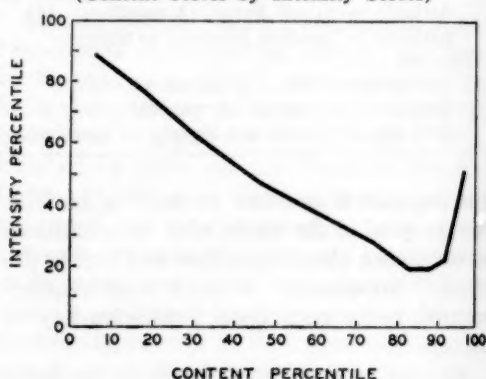
analysis of the meaning of attitude-to-service.

STUDENT ATTITUDES TO SERVICE

Students' attitudes toward being called into military service are definitely "negative." Analysis of the series of seven scale questions showed consistently unfavorable responses.

In order to arrive at a distribution which would take into account all seven questions asked, and which would not be subject to the arbitrary variation of responses to any single question, a scale of intensity of feeling was constructed which, when related to the attitude-to-service scale itself, locates an invariant cutting point free from the bias of any particular question wording. According to this analysis (Chart 1) the cutting point

CHART 1. ATTITUDE TO SERVICE *
(Content Scores by Intensity Scores)



* Plotted points are based upon following data:

Midpoint of content percentiles	6	18	31	46	61	74	83	88	92	97
Median of intensity percentiles	89	77	62	47	37	28	19	19	22	51

The higher content percentiles mean the more favorable attitudes.

would fall between the 83rd and 88th percentiles. This means that, on the whole, 83 per cent of students can be described as having negative attitudes toward serving, with 12 per cent positive and 5 per cent indifferent. The shape of the curve itself, with its sharp cutting point, is clearly indicative of the definitiveness of student opinion about this particular issue. There can be little

⁴ An analysis of several questions in this last area failed to produce a scale, indicating that this variable is not a unitary one, but has a complex, multi-dimensional structure. In this case, we are forced to deal with single questions.

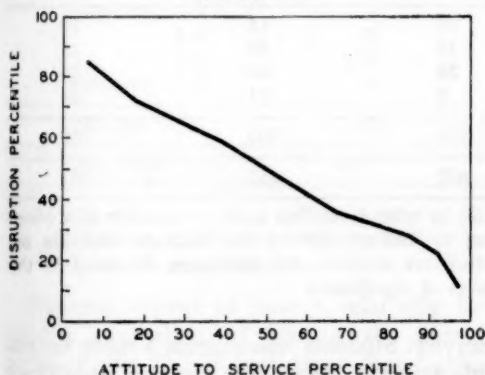
doubt that the topic has real meaning for the students.⁵

PERSONAL FACTORS AFFECTING ATTITUDE-TO-SERVICE

A favorable attitude-to-service is *dependent more upon immediate personal factors than upon more general ideological or military factors*. Going into the armed forces requires an abrupt and marked change in the individual's plans and mode of life. Probably for this reason personal considerations are more closely related to attitude to service than is more remote ideology.

The factor which is most strongly related to attitude to service is the extent to which a student feels that military service will disrupt his life. The high correlation between the two factors is shown in Chart 2.⁶

CHART 2. ATTITUDE TO SERVICE BY DISRUPTION OF PLANS *



* Plotted points are based upon the following data:

Midpoint of Attitude to Service Percentile	6	18	39	67	85	92	97
Median of Disruption Percentile	85	72	59	36	28	22	11

On the whole, most students do not expect military service to be a serious disruption.

⁵ This method of determining an objective, invariant cutting point along an attitude continuum is described in Chapter 7, "The Intensity Component in Attitude and Opinion Research," Vol. IV, *Measurement and Prediction, Studies in Social Psychology in World War II*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1950.

⁶ Chart 2 has been constructed using a percentile metric for both scales. This method, developed for analyzing the relationship between content and intensity scales (see previous footnote) seems to have definite advantages for plotting the relationship between any two attitude continua.

Only one out of four (26 per cent) believes that "military service will cause a major disruption in my life." An equal proportion (23 per cent) states that they "think I will have to change my plans very much as a result of military service."

A second personal factor which is of major importance in determining a student's attitude-to-service is his perception of the attitudes of his friends and family. Students who think their friends would "like to get in" are more likely themselves to want to serve (72 per cent vs. 6 per cent); likewise, students who feel that their parents would like them to get in the armed forces are more likely to score high on the attitude-to-service scale (78 per cent vs. 30 per cent). While to some extent, of course, this result represents a projection of the student's own attitude to his friends and parents, it appears likely that his opinion about service is influenced by the support he receives from these two groups.

Another factor which seems to have important personal significance for the student is the way he compares his own potential sacrifice with that of others being called into service. When students who feel that in their case military service means a *greater* sacrifice are compared with those who think it is a lesser sacrifice, three times as many in the former group as in the latter cluster at the positive end of the attitude-to-service scale. The proportions are: 75 per cent positive in the first group; 26 per cent positive in the second. Such "feelings of relative deprivation," it will be remembered, were found to be very significant during the last war in explaining the degree of dissatisfaction soldiers felt about having been drafted.

MILITARY FACTORS

It is to be expected that, in addition to the purely personal considerations which we have found to be so important, the student's generalized attitude toward military matters would also influence his attitude to being drafted. That this is the case can be seen from Table 1. Students whose attitudes toward the armed forces are favorable are consistently more likely to express a favorable attitude toward entering the armed forces.

A second important variable among the

set of questions relating to military factors is the student's attitude toward universal military training in general, and toward the Selective Service Act, in particular. Here again, those students who favor a military point of view are more likely to have positive attitude-to-service scores. (In favor of UMT are 58 per cent positive; opposed are 24 per cent positive); while those students who find the Selective Service Act to be fair are more likely to have a positive attitude toward service (52 per cent) than are those who do not think it is fair (33 per cent).

The students' attitude toward their present deferment under the Selective Service

mark it down to ignorance," "I would feel that it was probably sour grapes," and "I would feel angry or annoyed."

In evaluating the student's wholehearted acceptance of the present deferment policy, it is important to keep in mind that almost all students view such deferments as a *postponement* of service, not as an *exemption* from service. Almost all students (91 per cent) who now hold student deferment classifications expect to be called and to serve at least three years after they have finished their education.⁷

Attitude toward war is a third military factor related to the student's attitude to

TABLE 1. RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ATTITUDE-TO-SERVICE SCALE AND ATTITUDE-TOWARD-ARMED FORCES SCALE

Attitude-to-Service	Attitude-toward-the-Armed Forces			
	(Negative) 0-1	2	3	(Positive) 4
(Negative) 1-2	51	34	18	10
3-4	33	37	30	23
5-6	14	20	30	29
(Positive) 7-10	2	9	22	38
Total per cent	100	100	100	100
Total cases *	356	438	855	564

* The total number of cases varies slightly from table to table depending upon the number of students who answered the question. On those variables relating to military service, the students who are not subject to the draft or who do not expect to be called, are omitted. All differences discussed in this report are statistically significant on at least the .05 level of significance.

Act is generally approving; 73 per cent are in favor of the present arrangements for deferring college students. Furthermore, only 1 out of 10 students thinks that he is getting unfair privileges from the present military service provisions. A similarly small minority (13 per cent) disagree with the statement that, "Most deferments are for a good reason."

Students seem to accept the deferment of the college population as a justifiable measure within a generally reasonable draft policy, rather than as a special privilege. In response to the question: "If you happened to hear someone make the remark that college men are slackers to take advantage of deferment, how do you think you would react?" only a small minority (15 per cent) said that they might agree with such a position. About equal proportions (43, 39, and 39 per cent respectively) checked: "I would

service. Students who express a more favorable attitude toward war are also more likely to express a favorable attitude toward being called to service (Table 2).

The relationships among the three sets of attitudes which we have termed "military factors"—attitude to armed forces, attitude to Selective Service, and attitude to war—and a student's reaction to being drafted, form a consistent pattern. In each case students who are more favorably disposed to

⁷ It is interesting how student opinion toward deferment changed when the issue became a real rather than a hypothetical one. In 1950, before the present Selective Service Act, a cross-section of Cornell students was asked whether they agreed or disagreed with the following statement: "It's not fair for one man to be excused from military service while others are not." Only 44 per cent disagreed with this statement in 1950. The same question, when repeated in 1952 increased this proportion to 65 per cent.

the military point of view are also more likely to be favorably disposed toward serving. In a nation such as the United States, which has had a long tradition of non-militaristic thinking, attitudes toward war and the armed forces assume a special importance. It appears more and more likely that for the foreseeable future even non-militaristic nations will follow strongly military policies. In the American case, an active armed force of between 3 and 4 million men cannot be maintained except through some form of universal military training. It is, therefore, especially important to analyze attitudes toward the armed forces.

an increase in positive attitudes toward military service. It should be remembered, of course, that many of these students will be entering service as officers and therefore can look forward to the privileges of rank. However, students who are veterans of previous service are even more likely than non-veterans to express favorable attitudes toward the armed forces. Similarly, students now in ROTC are more favorable than those students who have never taken ROTC.

On the whole, it appears that the college student does not possess the highly antagonistic attitudes toward military life often attributed to American youth. While he is

TABLE 2. RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ATTITUDE-TOWARD-WAR SCORE AND ATTITUDE-TO-SERVICE SCORE

Attitude-to-Service Score	Attitude-toward-War Score			
	(Anti) 1-2	3	4	(Pro) 5-6
(Negative) 1-2	31	24	17	16
3-4	30	30	30	32
5-6	23	26	28	29
(Positive) 7-10	16	20	25	23
Total per cent	100	100	100	100
Total cases	1065	1040	535	335

STUDENT ATTITUDES TOWARD THE ARMED FORCES

Students appear to have a relatively favorable evaluation of life in the armed forces. Fully 79 per cent agree that "Military service will probably be good for me in some ways"; only 23 per cent agree that "Military service is a waste of time."

On the other hand, although the direction of their appraisal is positive, they do not hold this position with great intensity or conviction. Analysis of the attitude-toward-armed-forces scale according to intensity of feeling about the questions included in the scale, reveals an extremely flat-bottomed curve, indicating a wide area of indifference with very little intense feeling even among those who are extremely favorable or extremely unfavorable.

While it is impossible to compare the attitudes of the present generation of students with those of the generation preceding World War II, a comparison with the attitudes of soldiers serving during the last war does suggest that these opinions indicate

a long way from volunteering for such a way of life, he certainly does not view service with complete distaste. This orientation is obviously important for a nation which has embarked upon a peacetime policy of compulsory military service.

IDEOLOGICAL FACTORS

To round out the analysis of factors influencing attitude to service, the final group of variables which may be called "ideological" remains to be examined. These are the student's acceptance of military service as a duty and his attitude toward the Korean war.

Attitude toward the Korean situation and feelings about one's duty to serve both have an independent effect upon a student's attitude to service. The more the student recognizes his obligation to serve, the more likely he is to express a positive attitude to serving; similarly, the more favorable his opinion about our Korean policy, the more positive attitude he is likely to express toward service.

For the most part, students generally ac-

cept military service as one of the duties a citizen owes his country. Only 1 out of 5 (20 per cent) disagrees with the statement, "You owe it to your government to protect it in return for more important privileges."

However, when it comes to the specific, the students seem puzzled and without conviction. More than one-half report that they very often (26 per cent) or sometimes (36 per cent) "feel that the war in Korea is not worth fighting." Less than one-half the students (46 per cent) express a favorable opinion of our present foreign policy regarding Korea. Additional evidence of this lack of strong conviction about the present conflict: 38 per cent do *not* agree that "We are

students are not worried or even concerned about the imminent prospect of entering the armed forces. Only 1 out of 4 students, (27 per cent) for example, report that they find themselves worrying often or even occasionally about being called. To some extent this may represent whistling in the dark, since fully 83 per cent report that they have noticed a great deal or a moderate amount of concern among the fellows they know. Yet, on the whole, students appear to have accepted the present Selective Service Act with relatively little intense emotional involvement.

How does concern or lack of it relate to attitude to service? It is the students who

TABLE 3. ATTITUDE TO SERVICE IN RELATION TO ATTITUDE TOWARD THE KOREAN WAR AND DUTY TO SERVE

Duty-to-Serve Score	Percentage Scoring Positive on Attitude to Service Scale among Those Whose Attitude-toward-Korean Score Is:		
	(Negative) 0-1	2	(Positive) 3
(Negative) 0	11 (196)	16 (124)	19 (120)
1	12 (251)	15 (173)	19 (246)
2	13 (166)	29 (140)	30 (184)
(Positive) 3-5	20 (209)	31 (189)	31 (215)

fighting today for an ideal—the free peoples of the world against dictatorship."

CONCERN ABOUT MILITARY SERVICE

Before evaluating the relative importance of the personal, military and ideological factors discussed, let us look for a moment at the psychological variables: ego involvement, or salience; and feelings of guilt on the part of the male college students.

In general, the present study finds that

TABLE 4. RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ATTITUDE-TO-SERVICE SCORE AND CONCERN-ABOUT-SERVING SCORE

Concern Score	Attitude-to-Service Score			
	(Negative) 1-2	3-4	(Positive) 5-6	7-10
(Low) 0	9	12	17	26
1	15	24	25	33
2	41	41	44	38
(High) 3	35	23	12	3
Total per cent	100	100	100	100
Total cases	536	663	561	452

are relatively unwilling to serve who display the most concern about military service (Table 4). In other words, the student who indicates a negative attitude to being called, expresses an active dislike, while the student who indicates a positive attitude is the one who rather passively accepts the prospect of service.

It was hypothesized at the outset that those students with a strong sense of personal conviction about the present conflict would show the greatest amount of concern or involvement regarding military service. This, however, is not the case. There is no relationship between a student's score on the Attitude-toward-the-Korean War Scale and his concern-score. Nor is there any relationship between concern and ideological conviction. Finally, there is no relationship between concern-score and either duty-to-serve scale or a political knowledge test.⁸ It therefore

⁸ The knowledge score was developed on the basis of four questions testing general political knowledge. That this score is valid is attested by its high correlation with academic grades and also with scores on the Selective Service College Qualification Test.

appears quite conclusive that *concern about impending military service is not a function of ideological beliefs of the kind studied here.*

GUILT FEELINGS

So far it is clear that, although college students generally accept without question their obligation to bear arms for their country, they nevertheless are somewhat reluctant to go into the service. To what extent does the discrepancy between a generalized sense of obligation and individual personal reluctance result in feelings of guilt?

There is very little evidence of guilt reactions among the students. At the level of explicit testimony, almost unanimously (96 per cent) they say that they rarely or never feel guilty at not being in active service. An equivalent proportion (97 per cent) say they rarely or never "find themselves apologizing to people for not being in uniform." A primary reason for this lack of guilt is to be found in the ease with which the student can justify his present deferment as a legitimate postponement of service rather than privileged exemption from serving. Nevertheless, it is still true that those who express a more favorable attitude toward service are more likely to articulate feelings of guilt for being deferred than those at the negative end of the scale of attitude-toward-service (Table 5).

TABLE 5. RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ATTITUDE-TO-SERVICE SCORE AND GUILT SCORE

		Attitude-to-Service Score			
		(Negative)		(Positive)	
Guilt Score		1-2	3-4	5-6	7-10
(Low) 1		75	57	52	33
2		15	26	28	40
3		8	12	13	16
(High) 4		2	5	7	11
Total per cent		100	100	100	100
Total cases		536	664	561	452

It might be supposed that a negative feeling toward fulfilling one's obligations to serve would engender greater defensiveness, but this does not seem to be the case. The student who is not willing to serve does not exhibit a sense of conflict between his own personal interests and feelings of duty to country.

Both attitude to service and attitude toward the armed forces appear independently to influence feelings of guilt. The greatest expression of guilt comes from those students who are willing to serve and who at the same time have a favorable evaluation of the armed forces (29 per cent as opposed to 6 per cent among those who are unfavorable to the army and negative toward serving). It is these students who find it hardest to reconcile the non-military student-role with what they feel are the demands of the present crisis.

As in the case of attitude toward the armed forces, duty to serve combines with attitude to service in an independent and cumulative manner when related to feelings of guilt. The greatest guilt is expressed by those students who see military service as an obligation and who also have a positive attitude-to-service. One third (31 per cent) of this group expresses guilt feelings while only 10 per cent express such feelings among students on the other extreme—that is, those who score low on duty and negative on attitude to service. Apparently, despite feelings of obligation, the student whose attitude to service is negative can find enough justifications to avoid feeling guilty.

One such justification is, of course, a feeling of relative deprivation. Those students who feel that they are being called upon to sacrifice more than others are less apt to express feelings of guilt at being deferred.

"Compared to most people who are being called now, do you think you would be sacrificing more or less than they if (or when) you are called?"

	Per Cent Low Guilt Score
More than most	61 (756)
About the same	53 (1050)
Less than most	44 (330)

Reluctance for service is thus often formulated in terms of having been asked to make an undue sacrifice compared to other people.

RELATIVE IMPORTANCE OF INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

All three independent variables examined—ideological, military, and personal—were found to be significantly related to attitude to service. The present analysis has indicated that the ideological factors are least likely

to affect attitude to service. It is, rather, the more immediate and more personal variables which are most likely to exert a direct effect upon one's attitude-to-service. Tables 6 and 7 compare directly the relative influence of ideological, military and personal factors. It is clear that attitudes toward the Korean war are less closely associated with attitude toward service than are attitudes toward the armed forces or feelings about disruption of plans.

ciation of their own good luck, and apprehension about how long their deferment will last.

SUMMARY

This study shows rather definitively that the college students studied express generally negative attitudes toward being called into the military forces. However, they do not display great concern or worry about such service and in most cases they do not appear

TABLE 6. ATTITUDE-TO-SERVICE SCORE IN RELATION TO SCORES ON ATTITUDE TOWARD THE KOREAN WAR AND DISRUPTION OF PLANS

Disruption-of-Plans Score	Percentage Positive on Attitude to Service among Those Whose Attitude-toward-the-Korean War Is:		
	(Negative) 0-1	2	(Positive) 3
(Positive) 1-2	1 (333)	3 (193)	5 (245)
3	12 (194)	20 (182)	19 (196)
4	23 (190)	32 (168)	33 (198)
(Negative) 5	44 (104)	69 (81)	62 (126)

TABLE 7. ATTITUDE-TO-SERVICE SCORE IN RELATION TO SCORES ON ATTITUDE TOWARD THE KOREAN WAR AND ATTITUDE TOWARD THE ARMED FORCES

Attitude-toward- Armed Forces Score	Percentage Positive on Attitude to Service among Those Whose Attitude-toward-Korean War Score Is:		
	(Negative) 0-1	2	(Positive) 3
(Negative) 0-2	9 (385)	14 (200)	11 (209)
3	19 (283)	26 (262)	22 (310)
(Positive) 4	29 (154)	37 (164)	45 (246)

Perhaps the students' overall reactions can best be inferred from their answers to the following summary question:

"When you see fellows your own age who are already in full time military service, what kind of feelings do you have?"⁹

	Per Cent
Glad I've stayed out so far	39
Apprehensive that I'll soon be in myself	35
Sorry for them	29
Apologetic that I'm better off than they	20
Guilty	5

Their sentiments seem to be sympathy for those who are in the service, appre-

to view it as a serious disruption in their lives. They are appreciative of the present deferment policy which they consider just and fair; they show little evidence of guilt feelings about their present privileged status.

It was found that the factors influencing attitude toward military service could be classified into three main groupings. These are, in decreasing order of importance:

Personal Factors. Those factors which reflect the purely individual effects of military service upon the personal plans or characteristics of the student seem to be most closely related to attitude to service. The principal personal factors are, (again in decreasing order of importance): (1) disruption of plans, (2) influence of friends and family, (3) feelings of relative deprivation.

⁹ Total equals more than 100 per cent due to multiple responses.

Military Factors. Second in importance seem to be those variables reflecting the student's attitudes and conceptions concerning war in general and the armed forces in particular. Factors of this type which relate to the student's attitude to service are in decreasing order of importance: (1) attitude toward the Armed Forces, (2) attitude to UMT, (3) attitude toward the Selective Service Act, (4) attitude toward war.

Ideological Factors. Those factors which seem to be least related to the student's willingness to bear arms are the variables related to ideological beliefs. While the relationships here are not as strong as in the personal or military factors, the data show that the student with stronger conviction regarding the ideological nature of the present Korean crisis is more likely to have a positive attitude to service. Likewise, the student who admits a feeling of general obligation to serve is also more likely to express a positive attitude to his own service.

CONCLUSION

This study of student reactions to impending military service suggests certain more inclusive hypotheses about two major areas of social behavior—attitude formation, and obedience to law.

First, in regard to attitude formation; where the object of the attitude has concrete and realistic meaning to the individual, personal factors, especially those directly affected by the object, will be most important in determining his attitude. In such instances, positive or negative attitude will be highly related to expectation of positive or negative effect upon personal plans and needs. In such a case, the individual is likely to feel strongly about the position he takes and to exhibit considerable concern or salience. He will find support for this position in his close reference groups, for example, friends and family, who tend to identify their own interests with the interests of the individual and therefore adopt similar personal attitudes.

When, as in this case, the issue is highly personal, more abstract ideological factors appear to play a secondary role. However, if the attitude-area is a matter of high community concern, these ideological factors will continue to play a part. Absence of con-

sensus in the larger community lessens the importance of these ideological factors as determinants of attitude. Thus the individual who accepts the ideological value, yet whose personal interests leads him to take a conflicting position, will to some extent display symptoms of guilt. Still, the existence of ideological cleavages in the larger society offers ready justifications for personal reluctance in spite of ideological conviction.

Second, in regard to obedience to law; the reactions analyzed in the present study apply to an instance in which a population basically accepts the right of society to pass the law, and expects the minority which is affected by the law to obey it and to acquiesce in the deprivations required by it. In such cases, even if the measures provided by the law evoke a generally negative attitude, obedience may nevertheless be expected—provided that the ends are recognized as worthwhile. However, it is likely that a law which thus demands differential sacrifice will be obeyed more in its legalistic sense than in its "spirit." In such cases the individual will tend to take advantage of legal opportunities to lessen the extent to which he is penalized, as he sees it, by the law. He will have little difficulty in justifying such a course of action and in defending his relatively favored status within the "penalized" group.

The extent of full and willing compliance with the law is dependent upon the factors discussed above—which, indeed, are the determinants of attitudes in general. Of first importance for the type of legislation considered here will be the personal factors, that is, the greater the individual's perceived sacrifice as a result of the law, the less willing will be his obedience. Second in importance will be the "situational" factors, that is, the individual's attitude toward the specific provisions of the law. Of lowest importance for this type of legislation would be political position or ideology. Although individual variations in voluntary obedience are strongly influenced by immediate personal and situational factors, ultimate consensus requires prior acceptance of the *legitimacy* of the legal requirements. Indeed, it is this assumption of legitimacy which justifies the differential sacrifices required in time of crisis.

APPENDIX: SAMPLE OF THE QUESTIONS

1. Duty to serve
It's not fair for one man to be excused from military service while others are not.
☐ Agree
☐ ?
☐ Disagree
2. Attitude toward Korean situation
In general, are you in favor of our foreign policy in Korea, or opposed to it?
☐ Strongly in favor
☐ In favor
☐ Neutral
☐ Against it
☐ Strongly against it
☐ No opinion
3. Attitude toward war
There are lots of good things about war.
☐ Agree
☐ ?
☐ Disagree
4. Attitude toward Armed Forces
Military service will probably be good for me in some ways.
☐ Agree
☐ ?
☐ Disagree
5. Disruption of plans
If (or when) you go into full time military service, how much do you think your plans will have to be changed as a result?
☐ Very much
☐ Somewhat
☐ Not very much
☐ No change at all
6. Attitude to Service
Which of the following statements comes closest to describing your own feelings about going into full time military service?
☐ I'd like to get in
☐ I'd just as soon stay out if possible
☐ I don't want to go in at all
7. Concern about serving
How often do you worry about being called into full time military service?
☐ I worry about it often
☐ I worry about it occasionally
☐ I rarely worry about it
☐ I never worry about it
8. Guilt
Do you, yourself, ever feel guilty now about not being in active service?
☐ Yes, often
☐ Yes, sometimes
☐ Yes, but rarely
☐ No, never

SOCIAL

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¹ See *Develop*
² See *Mobility* (Februar R. West R. Mull tion," 2 (April, Backgro *Sociolog*

NOTES ON RESEARCH AND TEACHING



SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF COLLEGE STUDENTS

RAYMOND A. MULLIGAN

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The culture theory of class conceives of social classes as selected cultural groupings, which give to their members a similar stock of ideas, values, feelings, attitudes, and forms of behavior. It recognizes the fact that people live, work, play, and think on different class levels. The differences between classes are not merely financial or external planes of living, but they encompass the entire range of social behavior: occupation, vocation, manner of speaking, social and sexual attitudes, musical and literary tastes, and philosophy of life.

According to this theory, the culture of the lower classes obstructs the educational development of their children. The home background tends to make them critical of, or unsympathetic to, the idea of education and emphasizes the importance of going to work and contributing to the family's income at an early age. Immediate financial returns are given priority over present sacrifices for possible future gains. The culture of these classes determines to a considerable degree definitions that are unfavorable for a higher education.¹

Nevertheless, a certain proportion of the children from the lower classes reaches college.² These socially mobile students have neither acquiesced in their class status nor accepted unfavorable definitions of a higher education. They have at least one thing in common with students from the other social classes in being enrolled in institutions of higher learning.

If college students from the lower socio-economic groups are atypical in their behavior, according to the culture theory of class, by

attending institutions of higher learning, one wonders if they might not also deviate from their socio-economic group norm in other social characteristics. For example, do college students from the lower socio-economic groups come from the same size families as students from the upper socio-economic groups, and do they have similar religious backgrounds? McConnell³ reports that lower class husbands have less education than their wives, and upper class husbands have more education than their wives. Would similar educational differentials be found among the parents of college students; and lastly, is there any association between rural-urban and geographical location of college students' homes and socio-economic background? The present study is an attempt to shed some light on the above questions by analyzing the socio-economic backgrounds of students at an institution of higher learning. The following data were compiled in an effort to test the hypothesis that there is no relationship between the socio-economic background of college students and family size, parental education, religion, or residence.

PROCEDURE

Data for the study were collected from the personnel information forms of students in the office of the Registrar at Indiana University. These forms are filled out by the individual students during registration. Only the personnel forms of male students who were in attendance at the university during the second semester of the academic year of 1946-47 were included in the study. A twenty per cent sample of the male students was secured by selecting every fifth male personnel information form alphabetically. A sample of 1,444 cases was obtained.

Occupation of the students' fathers was used as an index of socio-economic background. The classification of gainful workers into socio-economic groups developed by Edwards⁴ was used for this purpose.

³ J. W. McConnell, *The Evolution of Social Classes*, 1942.

⁴ Alba M. Edwards, *Comparative Occupation Statistics, U. S. 1870-1940, 16th Census*, United States Bureau of Census, 1943, p. 179.

¹ See James Bossard, *The Sociology of Child Development*, 1948, pp. 284-286 and 303-306.

² See R. Centers, "Education and Occupational Mobility," *American Sociological Review*, 14 (February, 1949), pp. 143-144; E. Havemann and R. West, *They Went to College*, 1952, p. 27; and R. Mulligan, "Social Mobility and Higher Education," *The Journal of Educational Sociology*, 25 (April, 1952), pp. 476-487, and "Socio-Economic Background and College Enrollment," *American Sociological Review*, 16 (April, 1951), pp. 188-196.

FINDINGS

Number of Children. Table I presents the number and percentage of children in the families from which the male students come, by socio-economic background. The professional and other proprietary groups on the average have the smallest families, 2.8 children, and the unskilled group has the largest, 4.3 children. The white collar groups (professional, business,

ships are also true of the families of male students who attend Indiana University.

Religion. Among the students reporting on their church associations, over 68.0 per cent classified themselves as Protestant, 11.8 per cent Roman Catholic, and 6.4 per cent Jewish.

A larger proportion of professional men, farmers, and clerks is found among the Protestant fathers than among the Catholic or Jewish

TABLE 1. PERCENTAGE OF CHILDREN IN FAMILIES OF MALE STUDENTS COMPARED WITH PERCENTAGE OF MALE STUDENTS BY SOCIO-ECONOMIC GROUP AND INDICES, INDIANA UNIVERSITY, SEMESTER II, 1947.

Socio-Economic Group	Children		Students		Index ¹	Mean
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent		
Professional	582	12.7	211	14.6	87	2.8
Farmers	506	11.1	127	8.8	126	4.0
Wholesale and retail dealers	499	10.9	175	12.1	90	2.9
Other proprietors	473	10.3	171	11.8	87	2.8
Clerical and kindred workers	723	15.8	257	17.8	89	2.8
Skilled	844	18.5	251	17.4	106	3.4
Semi-skilled	300	6.6	87	6.0	110	3.4
Unskilled	388	8.5	92	6.4	133	4.3
Unknown	257	5.6	73	5.1	110	3.6
Total	4572	100.0	1444	100.0		3.17

¹ The index is a measure of representation such that 100 would indicate a uniform distribution of socio-economic groups for both the proportion of children and the proportion of students. Therefore, an index of 87 shows that the professional group is under-represented by 13 per cent in the child population, as contrasted with the expected proportion from the student population.

Chi square is 22.02; P is less than 0.01.

and clerical) average 2.8 children per family, the blue collar groups (skilled, semi-skilled, and unskilled) average 3.6 children, and the farmers (owners and tenants) average 4 children. Excluding the farmers from Edwards' socio-economic groups, an inverse ratio exists between socio-economic background and the number of children in the families from which the students come. Many studies have established the fact that an inverse ratio exists between socio-economic background and the number of children in a family.⁵ It thus appears that these relation-

fathers (Table 2). The largest proportion of business men is found among the Jews, whereas the highest proportion of skilled, semi-skilled, and unskilled labor is found among the Catholics. Approximately 79.0 per cent of the Jews come from the white collar groups, 56.4 per cent of the Protestants, and 44.2 per cent of the Catholics. Close to 11.0 per cent of the Protestant fathers are farmers, 5.3 per cent of the Catholics, and none of the Jews.

Consideration was also given to the size of families in relation to religious affiliation. Of the 1,444 students involved in the sample, 1,247 identified themselves as belonging to one of three religious categories. Table 2 indicates that

⁵ Paul H. Landis, *Population Problems*, 1943, pp. 106-125.

the average family size of the 170 students classifying themselves as Catholic is 3.9 children. Among the Catholics, the professional group's average family size is the smallest, 2.9 children, and the farming and unskilled groups average the largest, 6.3 children. Among the Catholics, also, the white collar groups average 3.4 children, and the blue collar groups 4.6 children.

the largest size families, 3.9 children, the Jews have the smallest average difference between the average size of their white collar families and blue collar families, -0.1. The Protestant families have an average difference of 0.7 children between their white collar and blue collar groups, and the Catholics have an average difference of 1.2 children. Stated somewhat differently, the blue collar Catholic families

TABLE 2. PERCENTAGE OF CHILDREN IN CATHOLIC, PROTESTANT, AND JEWISH FAMILIES OF MALE STUDENTS BY SOCIO-ECONOMIC GROUP, INDIANA UNIVERSITY, SEMESTER II, 1947

Socio-Economic Group	Catholic		Protestant		Jewish	
	Chil- dren	Stu- dents	Chil- dren	Stu- dents	Chil- dren	Stu- dents
Professional	7.5	10.0	14.1	15.1	12.4	14.0
Farmers	8.6	5.3	13.5	10.8	0.0	0.0
Wholesale and retail dealers	11.7	11.2	7.9	10.1	39.3	34.3
Other proprietors	8.6	11.2	9.5	11.2	16.1	17.1
Clerical and kindred workers	10.7	11.8	17.5	20.0	12.4	14.0
Skilled	29.0	25.2	16.6	16.6	14.5	12.9
Semi-skilled	9.8	10.6	6.4	5.6	1.7	3.3
Unskilled	12.3	7.6	7.8	5.9	1.7	2.2
Unknown	1.8	7.1	6.5	4.7	2.1	2.2
Total percentages	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number of cases	666	170	2969	984	242	93

Chi square is 475.87; P is less than 0.001.

One may also calculate the average family size of Protestant students from the data presented in Table 2. The average family size is 3.0 children. Among the Protestants, the wholesale group's average family size is the smallest, 2.4 children, and the unskilled group the largest, 4.0 children. The Protestant white collar groups average 2.6 children, the blue collar groups 3.3 children, and the farming group averages 3.8 children.

The average family size of the 93 students classifying themselves as Jewish is 2.6 children. Among the Jewish students, the white collar groups average 2.6 children, and the blue collar groups 2.5 children. The latter average is not very reliable as it is based on only seventeen cases.

Although the Catholics on the average have

average over 35.0 per cent more children than the white collar Catholic families; the blue collar Protestant families average over 26.9 per cent more children than the white collar Protestant families, and the white collar Jewish families average 4.0 per cent more children than the blue collar Jewish families.

Rural-Urban Differences. Table 3 contains the percentage of students residing in rural-urban localities, by socio-economic group. It is evident from this table that the proportion of students belonging to the farming group decreases as the population of the rural-urban localities decreases. On the other hand, the proportion of students from the skilled group increases as population increases.

In all of the rural-urban settings the proportion of students from the white collar groups

TABLE 3. PERCENTAGE OF MALE STUDENTS RESIDING IN RURAL-URBAN LOCALITIES BY SOCIO-ECONOMIC GROUP, INDIANA UNIVERSITY, SEMESTER II, 1947

Socio-Economic Group	RF	Rural-Urban Localities ¹				LCTY
		RNF	ST	MDT	CTS	
Professional	8.6	13.4	18.6	13.5	13.8	14.8
Farmers	45.7	13.8	3.6	2.0	1.6	0.0
Wholesale and retail dealers	4.0	17.7	12.3	13.1	11.2	11.5
Other proprietors	4.0	9.9	12.0	18.0	11.2	16.4
Clerical and kindred workers	9.3	15.1	20.9	16.3	19.9	21.3
Skilled	12.6	13.4	17.5	18.4	20.2	24.6
Semi-skilled	3.3	6.0	6.4	6.1	6.4	8.2
Unskilled	7.3	7.9	5.0	5.3	9.0	1.6
Unknown	5.3	4.4	3.6	7.3	6.7	1.6
Total percentages	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number of cases	151	232	440	245	312	61

¹ RF, Rural farm; RNF, Rural non-farm; ST, Small town (2,500-25,000 population); MDT, Middle-sized town (25,000-100,000); CTS, Cities (100,000-500,000); LCTY, Large cities (500,000 and over).

exceeds that of the blue collar groups. The smallest difference between these two categories occurs in the rural-farm setting where only 2.7 per cent separates the two groups. The largest difference occurs in the small-town rural-urban setting where the difference amounts to 34.9 per cent (white collar 63.8 per cent and blue collar 28.9 per cent).

The proportion of blue collar students increases as population increases up to 500,000. The proportion of white collar students increases from 25.9 per cent in the rural-farm setting to 64.0 per cent in the large city setting. However, for the intervening population settings, the percentage of white collar students fluctuates from 56.1 per cent to 63.8, through 60.8 to 56.1.

Geographical Differences. In the present study the geographical distribution of the students' homes by states was also examined.

Table 4 gives the socio-economic distribution of students with residence in Indiana and of students with residence in other states. The white collar groups in either category send more students to the university than do the blue collar groups. A larger proportion of out-of-state students comes from the white collar groups than in-state students. On the other hand, a

larger proportion of in-state students comes from the blue collar groups than out-of-state

TABLE 4. PERCENTAGE OF MALE IN-STATE STUDENTS COMPARED WITH THE PERCENTAGE OF OUT-OF-STATE STUDENTS BY SOCIO-ECONOMIC GROUP, INDIANA UNIVERSITY, SEMESTER II, 1947

Socio-Economic Group	Indiana	Out-of-State ¹
Professional	13.9	16.1
Farmers	9.4	5.1
Wholesale and retail dealers	12.4	11.1
Other proprietors	11.2	15.4
Clerical and kindred workers	17.2	20.9
Skilled	17.9	15.7
Semi-skilled	6.2	5.5
Unskilled	6.4	5.9
Unknown	5.4	4.3
Total percentages	100.0	100.0
Number of cases	1178	254

¹ Does not include foreign students.

students. The latter situation is also true of the farming group.

A further analysis of the geographical distribution of the out-of-state students' homes was made by dividing the United States into two zones. All states contiguous to Indiana (Michigan, Ohio, Kentucky, and Illinois) were placed in Zone I. All other states with the exception of Indiana were placed in Zone II.

If one compares the socio-economic distribution of students with residence in Indiana with the students from states in Zone I, and Zone II (Zone I has approximately 8.0 per cent of the students, Zone II, approximately 10.0 per cent, and Indiana 80.8 per cent), it is found that the proportion of students from the white collar groups increases from 54.7 per cent in Indiana to 61.8 per cent in Zone I, to 64.0 per cent in Zone II. The proportion of students from the farming group decreases from 9.4 per cent in Indiana to 5.1 per cent in Zone I and Zone II. The proportion of students from the blue collar groups decreases from 30.5 per cent in Indiana to 27.9 per cent in Zone I, and to 26.4 per cent in Zone II.

From the above analysis it appears that the proportion of students from the white collar groups increases as the distance, when measured by states, of their homes from the university increases. On the other hand, the proportion of students from the blue collar groups decreases as the distance of their homes from the university increases. Goetsch⁶ found a similar relationship between parental income and the distance students travel to an institution of higher learning. Her data reveal that the median parental income of youth who pursued a higher education in Milwaukee was 1,604 dollars; of youth who went outside of Milwaukee but remained in Wisconsin, 2,571 dollars; and of youth who went outside of Wisconsin, 3,125 dollars.

Parental Education. If one considers the educational background of the students' fathers it is found that over 86.0 per cent of the professional fathers attended college, whereas only 5.4 per cent of the unskilled fathers had such an experience. Excluding the farming group, 15.7 per cent of which attended college, the proportion of fathers in each socio-economic group with college experience decreases as one moves down the socio-economic scale as follows: professional—86.7 per cent; business—66.0 per cent; clerical—26.5 per cent; skilled—12.0 per cent; semi-skilled—8.0 per cent; and, unskilled—5.4 per cent. Out of the 123 fathers

who attended graduate school 102, or 82.9 per cent, belonged to the professional group.

Approximately 69.0 per cent of the professional fathers graduated from college, whereas only 1.1 per cent of the unskilled fathers, and only 3.2 per cent of the farmers completed college. The proportion of fathers in each socio-economic group having college degrees decreases as one moves down the socio-economic scale, if one excludes the farmers, as follows: professional—69.2 per cent; business—24.8 per cent; clerical—14.0 per cent; skilled—2.8 per cent; semi-skilled—1.1 per cent; unskilled—1.1 per cent. Of all the professional fathers who attended college over 80.0 per cent graduated. Only 20.0 per cent of all the unskilled fathers who attended college graduated.

It appears from the above analysis that the white collar groups have more education, by far, than the blue collar groups. However, the findings in respect to the educational achievement of the students' fathers are almost tautological. Edwards' classification of gainful workers into socio-economic groups is based on the criteria of educational achievement and amount of income.⁷ Knowing this, one would obviously expect to find a close relationship between Edwards' socio-economic groups and the educational attainment of the students' fathers.

If one analyzes the educational background of the students' mothers, it is found that 55.0 per cent of the mothers in the professional group attended college. On the other hand, only 9.8 per cent of the students' mothers in the unskilled group attended college. The percentages of mothers in the other socio-economic groups who attended college are as follows: farmers—16.6 per cent; business—58.5 per cent; clerical—28.5 per cent; skilled—10.8 per cent; and, semi-skilled—12.5 per cent.

Of all the mothers from the professional group, 28.4 per cent graduated from college. On the other hand, only 0.8 per cent of the mothers from the skilled group, and 1.1 per cent of the mothers from the unskilled group graduated from college. Of the twelve mothers who attended graduate school, seven, or 58.3 per cent, are members of the professional group. None of the mothers from the blue collar groups attended graduate school. In the professional group, of all the students' mothers who attended college, over 50.0 per cent graduated, whereas only 11.2 per cent of the mothers from the unskilled group who attended college graduated.

If one compares the educational backgrounds of the students' parents by college experience the following is found among the various socio-economic groups:

(1) Approximately 31.0 per cent more pro-

⁶ Helen B. Goetsch, *Parental Income and College Opportunities*, Teachers College Contributions to Education No. 795, Columbia University, 1940.

⁷ See Edwards, *op. cit.*, p. 181.

professional fathers than mothers attended college; 7.5 per cent more fathers from the business groups than mothers attended college; and, 1.2 per cent more fathers from the skilled group than mothers attended college.

(2) Among the parents from the farming, clerical, semi-skilled, and unskilled groups, the mothers exceed the fathers in college attendance in each of the respective socio-economic groups by the following percentages: 1.1, 2.0, 4.5, and 4.4.

(3) In all the socio-economic groups more fathers than mothers graduated from college with the exception of the unskilled and semi-skilled groups. In the unskilled group the percentage of mothers who graduated from college is matched by the percentage of fathers (1.1 per cent). In the unskilled group 1.1 per cent more mothers than fathers graduated from college.

SUMMARY

(1) Excluding the farmers from Edwards' socio-economic groups, an inverse ratio is found between socio-economic group and the number of children in the families from which the male students at Indiana University come.

(2) The differential between blue collar and white collar family size is found to be largest among the Catholic students' families and smallest among the Jewish students' families.

(3) The differential between the proportion of students' fathers who come from the white collar groups and the proportion of students' fathers who come from the blue collar groups is smallest among the Catholics (0.7 per cent), largest among the Jews (61.5 per cent), and of median size among the Protestants (28.3 per cent).

(4) In all rural-urban settings the proportion of students from the white collar groups exceeds that of the students from the blue collar groups.

(5) A direct ratio is found between the proportion of students from the blue collar groups and size of city populations, up to a size of 500,000.

(6) The proportion of students from the skilled group increases, and the proportion from the farming group decreases, as population increases.

(7) The proportion of students from the white collar groups increases, and the proportion from the blue collar groups decreases, as distance, when measured by states, of the students' homes from the university increases.

(8) Excluding the farmers from Edwards' scale, a direct ratio is found between the proportion of students' fathers who attended college and socio-economic group.

(9) Parents from the white collar groups have more education than parents from the blue collar groups, as measured by college attendance and college graduation.

(10) Students' fathers in the white collar groups (as a whole) have more education than the mothers, but the students' mothers in the blue collar groups (as a whole) and farming group have more education than the fathers, as measured by college attendance.

CONCLUSIONS

(1) The findings of the present limited and localized study do not support the null hypothesis that there is no relationship between the socio-economic background of college students and such social characteristics as family size, parental education, religion, and residence.

(2) Many studies have reported relationships between socio-economic background and various types of social phenomena. Within the limits of the above study, certain of these relationships were, also, found to exist among college students. It thus appears that differentials in specified social characteristics exist between college students from upper and lower socio-economic groups just as it has been reported for socio-economic groups in the population as a whole.

(3) There still exists the possibility, however, that such differentials might be significantly smaller among college students than for the socio-economic groups in the population as a whole. Children from the lower socio-economic groups who reach college may have social characteristics that vary from the averages for their group in the general population in the direction of upper socio-economic group averages. The object of the present study and the nature of the data collected precluded the testing of such a hypothesis. The testing of this hypothesis might very well contribute to our knowledge of the sociology of social mobility through higher education.

USE OF A MAIL QUESTIONNAIRE

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Earlier studies of returns to mail questionnaires indicate that returns are surprisingly small. Starch, in one survey in which 800 questionnaires were mailed, found the rate of returns was seven per cent.¹ Hancock in another

¹ D. Starch, "Factors in the Reliability of Samples," *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, *Proceedings Supplement*, 27 (1932), pp. 190-201.

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study of methods of surveying found when a letter of explanation of the purpose of the study and instructions for filling out accompanied the questionnaire, the rate of returns from all solicited was 9.56 per cent.² When the frequency of returns to a questionnaire is less than ten per cent, or for that matter less than fifty per cent, serious methodological questions can be raised as to the validity of the study.

In a recent study conducted by the writer relative to sharing in the marriage relationship, it was necessary to use mail questionnaires. A series of pre-tests were conducted to determine the best method of distributing the questionnaire. In the pre-tests all variables in the distribution of the questionnaire were held constant but one. The use of such a carefully controlled experimental procedure in the distribution of questionnaires made it possible to determine what procedures contributed to increased returns or decreased replies.

The questionnaire utilized was eight pages in length. It was reproduced by mimeographing on a good grade of bond paper. A series of situations were presented in the questionnaire which could occur in any family but had not necessarily occurred in the respondent's family. Three alternative courses of action were suggested as a means of reacting to the situations presented. The respondent was asked to select the most satisfactory course of action from the three alternatives presented. His choice would not necessarily represent what he would do if confronted with the situation. The last page of the questionnaire contained the usual biographical items. An attempt was made to make the questionnaire neat and attractive in appearance. Items with high interest value as determined by student ratings were placed at strategic points in the questionnaire. The same questionnaire was used for all of the pre-tests.

In each of the pre-tests 50 respondents were selected by a random process³ from the Toledo, Ohio telephone directory. Alternate questionnaires were addressed to Mr. and Mrs. in order to insure an equal representation of males and females. In each of the pre-tests the mailing of the questionnaires was so timed that they would arrive at the respondent's home either Thursday afternoon or Friday morning.⁴ Earlier research with regard to a mail questionnaire

indicates that the percentage of returns is higher when the questionnaires arrive late in the week.

In the initial pre-test of the questionnaire, a letter of explanation and a stamped and addressed return envelope was sent to each respondent. The letter was a form letter which had been mimeographed but personally signed, and the date and name of the respondent were typed in the appropriate places. The addresses on the envelope carrying the questionnaire to the respondent, and on the return envelope, were typed. A conventional six cent stamp was used to send the letter to the respondent and a similar stamp was provided for the return of the questionnaire. Fourteen per cent of the questionnaires were returned.

It was hoped that the percentage of returns could be increased by the use of an interesting cover on each questionnaire. A cover depicting a stereotyped family quarrel of an enraged wife throwing a rolling pin at her confused husband was used. The color of the cover was yellow as it was thought this would probably attract the most attention. In the second pre-test the questionnaire was sent to a group of 50 respondents selected in the same manner as the first pre-test group. With the exception of the addition of a cover all other details were held constant in the distribution of the questionnaire in the second pre-test.

The rate of returns to the second pre-test was seven per cent. Those few questionnaires that were returned frequently had markings on the cover. Such epitaphs as the "beast," "the grouch," and "my husband" were penciled on the characters depicted on the cover of the questionnaire. It was decided on the basis of this experience that a cover of the type utilized decreased returns. Some other type of cover might have increased returns. It is possible that the cover utilized may have attracted so much attention that the respondent forgot about completing the questionnaire.

In the third pre-test all details of distributing the questionnaire were the same as in the first pre-test. One additional measure was adopted in the third pre-test to increase returns. An article describing the research program of the writer appeared in a local newspaper. Copies of this article were made and sent with the questionnaire to respondents in the third pre-test. Copies of the article were exact in every detail to the original, even being printed on regular newsprint stock. Each clipping was torn to the proper size to add a personal touch so that each respondent might believe that the article had been torn from a newspaper and included with the questionnaire for his personal benefit. The frequency of returns to the third pre-test was 19 per cent.

In the fourth pre-test all details of the third

² John Hancock, "An Experimental Study of Four Methods of Measuring Unit Costs of Obtaining Attitudes Toward Retail Stores," *Journal of Applied Psychology*, (1940), pp. 112-115.

³ E. F. Lindquist, *A First Course in Statistics*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1942, pp. 103-104.

⁴ H. A. Toops, "Validating the Questionnaire Method," *Personnel Research*, 2 (1934), pp. 137-158.

pre-test were held constant with one exception. It was thought that interest in the questionnaire might be increased by a different arrangement of the stamps on the envelope for sending the questionnaire. Instead of using a conventional six cent stamp in each instance a one cent stamp, a two cent stamp, and a three cent stamp were used or provided. It was hoped that this procedure might impress the respondent with the amount of money that was being spent for postage or that the unusual color arrangement might attract his attention. According to Mayer, the order of color appeal in stamps is: blue, red, brown, green and black.⁵ A permit-return envelope or business reply envelope in which the recipient pays only for the envelope actually returned would have been cheaper than the pre-stamped method. Existing evidence suggests, however, that the percentage of returns is significantly greater (about double) for the regular stamped envelopes than for the business reply envelope.⁶ The rate of returns to the fourth pre-test was 21 per cent.

In the fifth pre-test details in the distribution of the questionnaire in the fourth pre-test were held constant with one exception. In the fifth pre-test the letter of explanation which accompanied the questionnaire was typed instead of a form letter being utilized. A short postscript urging the respondents to return the questionnaire was written in longhand on each letter. The official stationery and the Bowling Green State University letterhead were used for the typing of the letters. It was hoped that these additions would add prestige to the study and give an added "personal touch." The rate of returns to the fifth pre-test was 26 per cent.

In the sixth pre-test all details of the fifth pre-test were retained and one additional measure was taken to increase returns. One week from the day that the respondent should have received the questionnaire in the mail, the writer called each respondent on the phone. The phone calls were made between the hours of four-thirty in the afternoon and eight-thirty at night. A representative of the phone company suggested that more people could be found at home during these hours than at any other time. A typical phone call was as follows:

Good evening, is this Mr. John Williams?
This is Mr. Longworth speaking. A few days ago I sent you a questionnaire. I am calling to answer any questions that you might have relative to the questionnaire and to urge you to complete the questionnaire and return it

to me if you have not already done so. I wish to thank you for your cooperation.

Approximately one person in fifty refused to discuss the questionnaire. A number of persons asked why the study was being conducted, although an attempt had been made to answer this question in the letter of explanation which accompanied each questionnaire. Some wanted to know why they had been selected to participate in the study. The majority of the persons expressed an interest in the study and indicated that they would cooperate by completing the questionnaire. A number of individuals wished to conduct extended conversations relative to marriage adjustment and the writer sometimes found it difficult to terminate these conversations.

In approximately one-third of the instances, the writer was not able to contact respondents by phone because the line was busy, they were not at home, they had moved from the residence listed, and such reasons. One week later a second attempt was made to reach these persons. The percentage of respondents that the writer was able to reach by phone was increased very slightly by this method. Those respondents that the writer was unable to reach by phone were sent a follow-up postcard. Suchman and McCandless found in a study of radio listeners that of the 50 per cent who did not respond to a mail questionnaire, 97.2 per cent cooperated in a telephone survey.⁷ The rate of replies to the sixth pre-test was 63 per cent. In this and preceding pre-tests nearly all the questionnaires that were returned came back within ten days after being sent out.

It was decided on the basis of the information acquired in the series of pre-tests relative to the distribution of the questionnaire that the method utilized in the sixth pre-test would probably yield the highest percentage of returns. Some of the objections to a mail questionnaire can be circumvented by utilizing a procedure that boosts returns above the level ordinarily attained. Experience in this study would suggest that careful attention should be given to every detail in the distribution of a mail questionnaire. In the study that followed the pre-tests, a total of 800 questionnaires were distributed of which 64 per cent were returned partially or totally completed. An additional five per cent of questionnaires were returned without the respondent making any attempt to complete any part of the questionnaire.

In summary, some procedures in the distribution of mail questionnaires were found to be more conducive to returns than others. In this

⁵ E. N. Mayer "Postage Stamps do Affect Results of Your Mailing," *Printers Ink*, (October 4, 1946), p. 91.

⁶ Richmond Watson, "Investigations by Mail," *Market Research*, 5 (1937), pp. 11-16.

⁷ E. A. Suchman and B. McCandless, "Who Answers Questionnaires?" *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 24 (1940), pp. 758-769.

study the placing of small denomination stamps of various colors on the envelope increased returns by 2 percentage points. A personal note and typed letter of explanation on letterhead paper increased returns by 5 percentage points. When a newspaper clipping relative to the study was included, a further increase of 5 percentage points was noted. The use of a follow-up phone call increased returns by 37 percentage points. A total of 69 per cent of the questionnaires were returned.

COMMUNICATIONS RESEARCH AND THE CONCEPT OF THE MASS *

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The study of mass communications has not interested many sociologists until quite recently. Sociologists who are now working in the field find themselves confronted by a rather large body of research literature created over the past twenty years by such diverse workers as educators, psychologists, librarians, professional consultants to business or government, and the like. Each of the workers has been interested in a special problem, and on the whole those problems have been practical, requiring what is immediately useful for action rather than what is or will be useful for basic knowledge.

That practical orientation has not only been responsible for the diversity of research but also for a notable lack of the systematic point of view that a theory of mass communication would give. Such a theory could illuminate the area of research better than mere common sense, and by doing so make the application of specific research techniques more appropriate and more accurate.

Such a theory must begin with some definition of the area of concern. While the sociologist is perhaps not the most qualified to deal with the nature of communication itself, he is at least qualified to deal with the nature of human groups. He can participate in the creation of a theory of mass communication by defining the character of the social enterprises that organize, produce and maintain mass communications and their media, and by defining the character of the human groups called audiences, or collectively, "the audience." In this paper the sociological concept of the mass will be examined to see if it may be used to define the character of the audience of mass communications.

*The writer is grateful to Herbert Blumer and Howard S. Becker for their helpful criticisms of this paper.

THE CONCEPT OF THE MASS

In the dictionary the mass is defined as the great body of the people of a nation, as contrasted to some special body like a particular social class.¹ Lazarsfeld and Kendall use such a definition when they write, "The term 'mass,' then, is truly applicable to the medium of radio, for it more than the other media, reaches all groups of the population uniformly."² This notion of the mass merely implies that a mass communication may be distinguished from other kinds of communication by the fact that it is addressed to a large cross-section of a population rather than only one or a few individuals or a special part of the population. It also makes the implicit assumption of some technical means of transmitting the communication in order that the communication may reach at the same time all the people forming the cross-section of the population.

This is a conception that is not incorrect, but rather inadequate. It does not exploit its own implications about the nature of the behavior we may expect from members of the mass or about the characteristic features of the mass that set it apart from other groups. By its lack of specific system or following-out of implications it neither encourages nor requires specific research to contradict or elaborate it.

A second notion of the mass and its behavior is systematic, logical and specific enough to provide testable hypotheses about the characteristics of the audience of mass communications and the determinants of its behavior. As such, it is eminently suited to be worked into a larger theory of mass communication. In this conception³ the mass is said to have four distinctive features. First, it is heterogeneous in composition, its members coming from all groups of a society. Second, it is composed of individuals who do not know each other. Third, the members of the mass are spatially separated from one another and in that sense, at least, cannot interact with one another or exchange experience. Fourth, the mass has no definite leadership and has a very loose organization if any at all. These features are all implied by the common sense notion and are logically compatible with each other.

¹ *Webster's Collegiate Dictionary*, Springfield, Mass.: G. and C. Merriam Co., 1941, p. 615.

² P. F. Lazarsfeld and P. L. Kendall, "The Communications Behavior of the Average American," in W. Schramm (editor), *Mass Communications*, Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1949, p. 399.

³ Herbert Blumer, "Collective Behavior," in A. M. Lee (editor), *New Outline of the Principles of Sociology*, New York: Barnes and Noble, Inc., 1946, pp. 167-222. Blumer's work rests upon the earlier formulations of Robert E. Park.

The members of the mass are characteristically concerned with ideas, events and things that lie outside their local experience. Because those ideas, events and things lie outside the local experience of the members of the mass, they are not defined or explained "in terms of the understanding or rules of (the) local groups" to which the members of the mass belong.⁴ These therefore turn the attention of the members of the mass away from their "local cultures and spheres of life" and towards areas not structured by "rules, regulations or expectations." In this sense, the mass

has no social organization, no body of custom and tradition, no established set of rules or rituals, no organized group of sentiments, no structure of status roles, and no established leadership. It merely consists of an aggregation of individuals who are separate, detached, anonymous.⁵

Since the mass has no societal character, the form of its behavior is not to be found in organized, concerted group activity but rather in the behavior of the separate individuals who make up the mass. Each individual seeks to gratify his own needs by selecting certain extra-local ideas, events or things in preference to others.

In another paper Blumer states that the audience of at least one mass medium, the movies, is a mass. In attending to movies, members of the audience are anonymous, heterogeneous, unorganized and spatially separated, and the content of the movies is concerned with something that lies outside the local lives of the spectators.⁶ According to his notion, then, the audience of such mass communications as we find in movies may be distinguished from other social groups or aggregates by the specific, generic characteristics of the mass.

It is clear that this concept of the mass is sufficiently logical and articulated that if we use it to characterize the audience of mass communications, as Blumer suggests we do, it could well serve as an important source of fruitful hypotheses, and in turn become part of some systematic theory of mass communication. The problem remains, however, whether what we already know about the audience is compatible with the concept of the mass, and in this sense whether or not it would be *accurate* to characterize the audience as a mass. It is to this problem that we must turn now.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 186.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 186.

⁶ Herbert Blumer, "The Moulding of Mass Behavior Through the Motion Picture," *Publications of the American Sociological Society*, Vol. XXIX (1936), pp. 115-127.

THE CHARACTER OF AUDIENCE EXPERIENCE

The major methodological implication of Blumer's conception of the mass is that it is appropriately studied by using "a sample in the form of an aggregation of disparate individuals having equal weight."⁷ The method of study appropriate to the concept thus gives equal weight to individuals by classifying them according to such essentially demographic attributes as age, sex, socio-economic status and education: the subjects are treated as solitary individuals who have certain traits in common but who do not interact with each other and who do not share certain socially-derived expectations about the communication.

Blumer has indicated that the characteristic behavior of the members of the mass takes the form of *selection*. In this sense, if it is accurate to consider members of the audience to be members of the mass, then their characteristic behavior lies in their selections of particular movies, programs and newspapers. These selections become the important thing to explain. If it is accurate to consider the audience to be a mass, then according to the concept of the mass those selections are to be explained by factors that are not an essential part of the primary or local group experience of the audience. The factors that reduce the individual to a member of the mass are such things as age, sex, years of education, socio-economic status, and "personality," attributes that he shares with thousands who are unknown to him and who have no immediate influence on him.

Such attributes must explain audience selections or we are justified in concluding that the audience is not a mass. Of late there has been some feeling that such data are not sufficient to explain audience selections. Riley and Flowerman advance the opinion that

any given person in the audience reacts not merely as an isolated personality but also as a member of the various groups to which he belongs and with which he communicates.⁸

⁷ Herbert Blumer, "Public Opinion and Public Opinion Polling," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. XII (1948), p. 548. In this article he specifically describes "going to motion picture shows, and reading newspapers" as "mass actions of individuals in contrast to organized actions of groups," and attacks public opinion pollers for applying to the study of the public and public opinion methods of sampling that are appropriate only to the study of the mass or other aggregates.

⁸ M. W. Riley and S. H. Flowerman, "Group Relations as a Variable in Communications Research," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. XVI (1951), p. 171. See also M. W. Riley and J. W. Riley Jr., "A Sociological Approach to Communications Research," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, Vol. XV (1951), pp. 445-460.

To support this they offer some preliminary data that cannot be ignored, even though they refer only to an audience of children.

There are in fact other grounds for concluding that the audience is only inaccurately termed a mass. We are told that the mass consists of individual members. When we look at a particular individual member of the audience we find that his actual experience is of a decidedly different quality than might be expected if he were a solitary member of the mass. We find that most individuals go to the movies in the company of another person⁹ and that family rather than solitary listening and watching tend to be characteristic of radio¹⁰ and television¹¹ audiences. The individual seems to experience those media frequently in an immediately sociable setting¹² that cannot be characterized as anonymous or heterogeneous, with no interaction with other spectators, and no organized relationships among them.

The fact of the existence of a characteristically interpersonal setting of the spectator's contact with some of the mass media would lead us to suspect and seek the existence of other characteristically social features of his experience. When we learn that the most effective mode of stimulating members of the audience to make one selection rather than another (i.e., the most effective mode of advertising) lies in what is called word-of-mouth advertising¹³ (i.e., the transmission of opinions about movies from one person to another), it seems certain that there is some lively interchange between any individual and other members of the audience. From this datum we are able to infer among the members of an audience the existence and continuous re-creation of shared understandings, common selections and concerted social activity. Further, since we are told that such a thing as an "opinion leader" exists,¹⁴

we may conclude there to be some sort of well-developed web of organized social relationships that exists among members of the audience and that influences their behavior.

This material implies that the member of the audience selects his mass communications content under a good deal of pressure and guidance from his experience as a member of social groups, that in fact his mass communications behavior is part of his social behavior, and that *mass communications have been absorbed into the social life of the local groups*. The act of "selection" itself seems to have become a habitual type of social act that frequently is no longer even self-conscious. Handel indicated that only about 21 per cent of the movie audience shows any great effort consciously to select a particular movie to see¹⁵ (rather than go to the Rialto on Saturday nights because that's what one always does on Saturday nights.)

Much audience behavior, then, takes place in a complex network of local social activity. Certain times of day, certain days, certain seasons, are the socially appropriate times for engaging in particular activities connected with the various mass media. The individual is frequently accompanied by others of his social group when he is engaged in those activities. The individual participates in an interpersonal grid of spectators who discuss the meaning of past experience with mass communications and the anticipated significance of future experience. Certain theaters, programs and newspapers tend to form focal points for his activity on specific occasions no matter what the content might actually be.

The behavior of the members of the mass is said not to be "integral to the routine of local group behavior,"¹⁶ but the communications behavior of the members of the audience, on the other hand, *does* seem to be integrated into the routine of local group life. The mass media are institutions that are organized around providing services to a clientele. The services of the local theater, television station and news-

⁹ L. A. Handel, *Hollywood Looks at its Audience*, Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1950, pp. 113-114.

¹⁰ A. L. Eisenberg, *Children and Radio Programs*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1936, p. 194.

¹¹ E. E. Maccoby, "Television: Its Impact on School Children," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, Vol. XV (1951), p. 425.

¹² Herbert Blumer, *Movies and Conduct*, New York: The Macmillan Co., 1933, *passim*, is particularly rich in personal documents that indicate the quality and significance of that immediately sociable setting of movie-going.

¹³ Handel, *op. cit.*, p. 69.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 88-90. See also the discussion provoked by the "discovery" of the opinion leader, R. K. Merton, "Patterns of Influence," in P. F. Lazarsfeld and F. N. Stanton, *Communications Research*, New York: Harper and Brothers, 1949, pp. 180-219.

¹⁵ Handel, *op. cit.*, pp. 151-154. We may also note Berelson's finding in "What 'Missing the Newspaper' Means," in Lazarsfeld and Stanton, *op. cit.*, pp. 122-123, that "reading (the newspaper) itself, rather than *what* is read, provides an important gratification for the respondents." Radio research, too, has found such habitual rather than consciously selective audience behavior.

In many ways the ordinary member of an audience can be equated with the normal, unself-conscious member of a long-established church congregation, while the fan can be equated with the devoted member of a tightly-organized, militant cult. The former shows habitual social behavior while the latter shows ritual social behavior.

¹⁶ Blumer, "Moulding of Mass Behavior," p. 116.

paper are absorbed into the pattern of local life, becoming only some of a number of focal points around which leisure activities have been organized by the members of the group.

It is this point about the social nature of the experience of the members of the audience that has been somewhat obscurely made by past research when the "predispositions" of the individual are referred to in order to explain the failure to find strong and consistent correlations between content and specific types of reactions to it. It is this point that is being referred to by the recent thorough review of the literature on the effects of mass media that concluded at one point that

a substantial number of careful objective studies indicate that cultural milieu is one of the most important, if not the single most important determiner of an individual's pattern of communications behavior. . . . The individual apparently adopts, or develops, patterns of communications behavior characteristics of persons in his own cultural level. . . . Should he come into contact with a new medium of communication, his behavior in relation thereto is governed by the pattern. The new medium is in short not so likely to change the pattern of his behavior as rather to be absorbed.¹⁷

On the basis of this material on the experience and behavior of members of the audience, it is possible to conclude that the audience, from the point of view of its members, at least, is *not* anonymous, heterogeneous, unorganized and spatially separated. The individual member of the audience frequently does not manifest the selective activity characteristic of the mass, and when such selection has been observed to occur it appeared to arise out of the stimulation of organized social processes rather than merely the individual's personal interests. Given this, it is possible to conclude that the concept of the mass is not accurately applicable to the audience.

METHODOLOGICAL IMPLICATIONS

If this conclusion is correct, what are its implications for communications, and particularly audience, research?

The bulk of past studies of the audience of mass communications will no doubt be surprised to be told that their method and their underlying assumptions about the nature of the audience presuppose reliance on the concept of the mass that has been described here. There is no justification for studying the audience as

an aggregation of discrete individuals whose social experience is equalized and cancelled out by means of allowing only the attributes of age, sex, socio-economic status, and the like, to represent them except by subscribing to the assertion that the audience is a mass.

Further, the popular procedure of studying audience behavior solely in relation to content also relies on equating the audience with the mass. Assuming the audience to be a mass, the implicit reasoning of such research is as follows: Since the mass attends to areas which are not conventionally defined (and which are in some way conveyed by content), and since members of the mass do not behave according to the conventions, expectations and values of their local groups and do not interact with each other, it follows that the two really important variables in mass communication are the individual traits of the members of the audience and the content itself. Content is then studied as a set of stimuli from which members of the audience *as individuals* create "objects" in terms of their individual interests. There is only interaction between content and personal interests. When the audience is viewed as a social group rather than a mass, then content and personal interests are seen to be only some of the elements of the over-all social process determining responses.

To the extent that past research has studied the audience as if it were composed of discrete individuals, and has sought the significant determinants of audience taste and behavior only in the relation between content and the personal interests implied by the attributes of the individual spectator, past research has considered the audience to be a mass. If the concept of the mass is only inaccurately applied to the audience, the past research that owes its justification to such application has rested on an inaccurate foundation and suffers because of it.

THE USE OF THE CONCEPT OF THE MASS IN COMMUNICATIONS RESEARCH

In order to create a more adequate notion of the audience, it must be recognized that there is an essential ambiguity¹⁸ involved, an

¹⁸ Some of the ambiguity of the problem of defining the audience lies in the fact that the audience changes as we change our perspective. To the stubbornly pragmatic producer of movies who relies only on box office receipts for his conception of the audience, it is typically a mass. To the television producer who is strongly affected by a tiny but extremely vocal group of parents who do not want violence portrayed on the screen, the audience is typically a public and his decisions are made on the basis of "public opinion." Our major point here, however, is that if we assume the perspective of

¹⁷ J. T. Klapper, "The Effects of Mass Media," (mimeographed) New York: Bureau of Applied Social Research, Columbia University, 1949, Section I-15, p. 6.

ambiguity that becomes sharply focused when we realize that one can speak of the audience in two major senses. On the one hand we can speak of the *national audience* and on the other of the *local audiences* that make up the national audience.

The national audience is more or less a mass in Blumer's sense provided that we speak of members of one local audience not in relation to each other but to those of other local audiences. Members of one local audience are anonymous, heterogeneous, spatially separate and unorganized in relation to those of another local audience. There is no well-organized bond between different local audiences, and in this sense the type of social experience presupposed by such a bond need not be taken into account when one deals with the sum of the local audiences—the national audience. Thus, so long as one treats the national audience as an aggregate body, the concept of the mass is not inaccurately applied.

However, while one can *describe* such an aggregate without reference to the organized groups that compose it, one cannot *explain* the behavior of its members except by reference to the local audiences to which they belong. It is their experience as members of local audiences that determines how they act, not the fact that there happen to be members of other local audiences whom they do not know, who are not necessarily similar to them, do not interact with them and do not have well-organized relationships with them. The existence of those other local audiences has no necessary relation to their own experience. If we are to consider the actual experience of members of the audience to determine their responses, then the concept of the mass has little relevance to that experience and is not appropriately used as the basis for explaining audience behavior. Research concerned with the problem of explaining why members of the audience behave as they do should avoid using the concept at the risk of using inappropriate methods of study and obscuring pertinent facts. This conclusion in no way questions the usefulness of the concept of the mass for other areas of research.

The behavior of members of the audience, in sum, does not seem to conform to the criteria of collective behavior in general; rather, it seems to be distinctly social. Thus, an adequate concept of the audience must include some idea of its social character, some idea that being a member of a local audience is a social activity in which interaction with others before,

the members of the audience as they themselves experience mass media, the audience is a distinctly social, local group that neither typically makes selections nor discusses an issue.

during and after any single occasion of spectatorship has created definite shared expectations and predisposing definitions. These in turn have a determinate effect, in conjunction with the institutionalized character of the activity, on what members of the audience select or do not select, and how they react or do not react. Such a concept requires research that is not satisfied with studying only such things as the age, sex or personality of the spectators in conjunction with the content of the communication, but that would go on to study the local audience itself as a social group composed of individuals who have absorbed mass communications into their relatively settled ways of behaving and who, in the real or vicarious company of their fellows, behave towards mass communications in an organized, social manner.

THE ECONOMIC BASE AND STRUCTURE OF THE URBAN-METROPOLITAN REGION *

WALTER ISARD, ROBERT A. KAVESH,
ROBERT E. KUENNE

Harvard University

Despite the widespread recognition of the urban-metropolitan region as a dynamic organism whose structure and functioning are closely interrelated, an understanding of the intricate web of relationships which links the hierarchical order of sectors into a unified, interdependent whole, is still at a relatively elementary stage.

In this paper we shall attempt to analyze only one specific group of urban interrelations: those pertaining to economic structure. It is hoped that a better understanding of the economic interrelations within the urban-metropolitan region will emerge, making it possible to discard the crude rule-of-thumb procedures used by many social scientists in attempting to anticipate changes in the economic base and growth potentialities of urban areas.¹ We shall utilize input-output methods which have been de-

* This essay has developed from a paper presented by the senior author at the annual convention of the American Institute of Planners, April, 1952. It also draws heavily in methodology from an unpublished report by Isard and Kuenne on the impact of steel development upon the Delaware River Valley.

¹ Some of the best work utilizing these procedures in anticipating urban economic development has been done by Homer Hoyt. See, for example, *An Economic Survey of the State of New Jersey*, Trenton: 1950, and *A Report on the Economic Base of the Brockton, Massachusetts, Area*, Boston, Mass.: Committee for Economic Development, 1949.

veloped by W. Leontief and others,² and for which data and materials have been collected, classified, and prepared for operation by the Interindustry Division of the Bureau of Labor Statistics.³

To simplify the framework at the start, imagine, by federal edict, that a large-scale integrated steel works is to be constructed in a rural area, remote from industrial centers. As a result, a city will grow up in close proximity to this steel plant; and steel will be a chief product for export to other regions. What, then, will be the economic base of the city?

Once the steel plant is constructed, consider its operating requirements. They will consist of a series of raw material inputs such as coal, ore, chemicals, limestone, and scrap, as well as service inputs such as power, transportation, trade, and labor. The amounts of these factors necessary in the production process can be closely determined in accordance with the design of the plant and can be stated in terms of cents worth of each input per dollars worth of steel output.

It is likely, however, in the case of steel production, though not necessarily so for other industrial development, that plants technologically associated with basic steel output will be attracted to this area. History has recorded the tremendous agglomerations of steel fabricators around the basic steel works in the industrial districts of Pittsburgh, Chicago-Gary, Birmingham in England, the Ruhr Valley, and the southern Urals.

These fabricators, too, will produce primarily for export and will require a host of inputs. The cents worth of each input per dollar output of each type of steel fabricating can be derived from technological data or from actual operating experience.⁴ Thus given the output of the basic steel works, as determined by the government, and given the estimated outputs of each agglomerating export industry⁵ (whether steel fabricators or others), it is then possible to list the total inputs required from each of all

the industrial sectors of the nation. These we will call the first-round input requirements.

It is apparent that not all these first-round requirements will be provided from firms located in the city or its immediate hinterland. Coal and ore will undoubtedly be imported from other districts unless excellent deposits are close by. Certainly, during the early stages of production, scrap and chemicals will originate elsewhere and require transportation to the point of production. On the other hand, many services will be provided by local firms: power will be produced locally; labor will originate in the general vicinity of the plant; transportation, trade, and personal service requirements will be supplied by people living and working in the immediate surroundings. Therefore, of the whole set of first-round input requirements necessary to keep the steel plant and the other agglomerating export industries in operation, those which will be furnished by the city and its hinterland will be the first-round expansions. Of these first-round expansions in certain instances some can be precisely stated; in others, only estimated.⁶

To produce those first-round expansions of local activities necessitates in turn another series of inputs. To produce the power used by the steel plant requires labor, coal, the use of machinery, business and personal services and so forth. And again, from technological data or from operating experience the inputs of various items per dollar output of power can be stated. By the same token, to provide for the local transportation required by the steel industries, the services of labor, power, and the use of equipment are needed. Likewise, for the first round expansion of every other local activity the industrial requirements can be stated.

Also, it should be borne in mind that the households which receive wages, salaries, and other income in the first round (representing the value of their service inputs into the steel and associated export industries) also behave like industries. Their income is spent on various items, and this pattern of expenditures represents the input requirements of households. They are considered to be inputs in the sense that labor (households) can effectively demand and thus obtain them in a competitive price economy.

Thus, to produce the first-round expansion in each activity requires a series of inputs from the various sectors of the economy. By summing these series we obtain what may be designated as second-round input requirements. Again, the process of supplying the second-round input requirements will involve activities not located

² W. Leontief, *Structure of the American Economy, 1919-1939*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1951; W. Leontief et al., *Studies in the Structure of the American Economy*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1952.

³ W. Duane Evans and Marvin Hoffenberg, "The Interindustry Relations Study for 1947," *Review of Economics and Statistics*, Vol. XXXIV (May, 1952), pp. 97-142.

⁴ See, for example, Evans and Hoffenberg, *op. cit.*, Table 5, which records cents worth of inputs from each of 45 industrial sectors of the United States per dollar output of any given sector for year 1947.

⁵ Because of time limitations, it is not possible to discuss here techniques for estimating these outputs. However, see Isard and Kuenne, *op. cit.*

⁶ Again, because of time limitations the reader is referred to Isard and Kuenne, *op. cit.* for techniques of estimation.

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Isard, "Analysis of Economic Behavior, 195

in the urban-metropolitan region; these inputs will be imported. Some, however, will come from within the region and constitute the second round of expansions. However, the second-round of expansions will require a third set of input requirements, and so on.⁷

Since a large part of the input requirements in any one round will be furnished by firms outside the city and its hinterland, it is clear that succeeding rounds of expansions and hence of input requirements will converge and eventually become negligible. Summing, by rounds, the expansions of local activities yields the total direct and indirect input requirements furnished to the steel and other agglomerating export industries by the firms and individuals within the urban-metropolitan region. Adding to this total the actual output of steel and its allied industries yields a meaningful net of economic interrelations which may be viewed as the economic base of the city.⁸

This model forms a scaffolding for analyzing the actual interrelationships of an urban-metropolitan region. A reexamination, showing the necessity to qualify and amplify the method, points up the limitations and the cautions required in applying this particular regional input-output technique.

Reconsider the concept of an export industry. Industry is defined broadly so as to include all economic activities whether they yield physical commodities or intangible services. According to this standard, a hospital or an educational institution providing nation-wide services would be considered an export industry, and, in a very real sense, should be distinguished from local hospitals or educational facilities. Further, an actual metropolitan region can have and typically does have more than one combination of

basic and associated export industries.⁹ In a sense, then, for each combination a whole series of total outputs directly and indirectly required of local industries can be derived. These total outputs can then be summed for all combinations to yield the overall economic structure of the urban-metropolitan region.

Simply to add the net resultants of each combination of export industries in order to derive the total framework would be inadequate. The direct and indirect effects of each group of industries are not additive, but rather are of a compound nature. Especially during the early stages of development of an industrial area, the presence of the direct and indirect outputs of industries allied to any one group of basic and associated export industries accelerates the growth of those facilities which furnish the direct and indirect requirements of other combinations. In the literature, this multiplicative effect is linked with economies of association, juxtaposition, or of agglomeration. Simply stated, one combination of basic and associated export industries may generate insufficient direct and indirect requirements of the product of a particular industry (let us say, chemicals) to absorb the output and thus to warrant the establishment of an efficient chemical plant in the city or its vicinity. However, two or more such combinations may afford a large enough market for the products of this chemical plant. Hence, the resulting stimulation of local activities is greater than the sum of what would have resulted had each combination developed in isolation.

On the other hand, when a high intensity of land use is reached in a particular city, the continual heaping of one activity on top of another can yield diseconomies of agglomeration, the hidden costs of urban congestion, and higher land rents, which would result in less efficient and marginal producers and activities emigrating from the area. This would reduce the stimulating effects of the last combination of export industries introduced into the urban-metropolitan region.

Though the model developed in the foregoing paragraphs appears to yield mathematically precise results, much of the precision is superficial and cannot be accepted without reservations. It must be clearly understood that input-output techniques pertain exclusively to eco-

⁷ The reader interested in tracing out in detail the round by round requirements is referred to W. Isard and V. Whitney, "Atomic Power and Regional Development," *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, Vol. VIII (April, 1952), pp. 119-124.

⁸ It is assumed that the outputs of the export industries are unaffected by developments external to the city and its immediate hinterland in this model. In actuality, as the city grows, a chain of interrelationships between the urban-metropolitan region and outside areas arises. Population growth within the city calls for increased absolute demands for the products of non-local industries. This added purchasing power provided to other regions may serve to stimulate, in turn, those industries within the city that produce for export. To handle this effect properly, however, requires the use of inter-regional models which cannot be discussed here and which have been developed elsewhere (W. Isard, "Interregional and Regional Input-Output Analysis: A Model of a Space-Economy," *Review of Economics and Statistics*, Vol. XXXIII (November, 1951), pp. 318-328.

⁹ Indeed, one way of coping with the problem of the diversity of urban-metropolitan regions would be to set up categories of types of cities according to functional specialties, and work, not with cities in general, but with homogeneous group of centers. See Grace M. Kneeder, "Functional Types of Cities," *Public Management*, Vol. XXVII (July, 1945), pp. 197-203.

conomic structural relations which are quantifiable. To the extent that immeasurable factors of a sociological or political nature shape these relations, as they do without question, then the results will provide an incomplete description of the true complexities of the urban-metropolitan region. In addition, the currently employed framework of interindustry relations tends to understate the significant variations among cities in different regions, using dissimilar production processes and exhibiting varying patterns of consumption.

The input coefficients, (i.e., the cents worth of inputs per dollar output) upon which the interdependent framework of industries is based, represents at present an average pattern of transactions based upon flows of goods and services among industries for the United States as a whole, 1947.¹⁰ This averaging method tends to ignore the diverse processes of production among regions having different raw material and labor endowments. For example, much of the power generated in the industrial Northeast is supplied by coal-burning plants; the Pacific Northwest, however, relies heavily upon hydroelectric power for its industrial and household needs. These widely dissimilar methods currently are lumped together with other processes to give an overall average pattern of power production for the entire country.¹¹

Consider now a few sociological factors which clearly demonstrate that some error at least is involved in using the built-in statistical norms that prevail in our regional input-output model. The model assumes that the steel development and subsequent influx of associated industries would not confront resistances of vested groups whose social values are prejudicial to industrial expansion. Yet, these exist.¹² Moreover, it

¹⁰ However, not all of the industrial classifications used by the Bureau of Labor Statistics need be included in an input-output table on the urban-metropolitan region. Agricultural production, generally an urban import, would be excluded; and non-ferrous metal operations, of minor importance, could be consolidated into a larger category with other activities of less direct significance to the urban construct.

¹¹ This shortcoming in deriving industrial coefficients is not insurmountable. The nation may be divided into as many regions as are regarded significant for a particular problem and coefficients particular to each region may be derived. This, however, increases the complexity of the computations in proportion to the number of regions involved. See Isard, *op. cit.*, pp. 320-326.

¹² These resistances may be tangible, as in the case of zoning regulations, or much less obvious, as found in the opposition of certain ethnic or social groups. The militant reluctance of Beacon Hill residents to yield to the pressures of "normal" economic forces such as rising real estate values

assumes that occupational and spatial immobilities of the labor force are not present to any marked extent. Yet, the recruitment of a body of labor trained or untrained for a specific classification of jobs is not an automatic process. It is common knowledge that these immobilities, especially where specialized labor services are required, can, and historically have, imposed barriers of such magnitude as to retard, if not preclude entirely, industrialization.¹³

What might be called the "community spirit" of the urban-metropolitan region must be given considerable weight. Certain areas actively seek new industries, advertising special resources or financial advantages; while others are passive. The effect of such differences in the degree of aggressiveness is difficult to evaluate and hence to allow for quantitatively in an inter-industrial matrix depicting economic flows. Since in many industries there are no clear-cut cost or revenue advantages in locating at any particular site, it is evident that subjective factors, such as community spirit, labor and other social attitudes, and the quality of planning programs may be instrumental in shaping the pattern of basic and associated export industries. They may in fact induce an industrial development which deviates from that which may be anticipated from an unqualified and unsophisticated application of input-output techniques.

Moreover, a broader aspect of the situation, that of the degree of economic and social maturity of the region as a whole, may be looked into. A lesson we have learned from studies of individual undeveloped regions of the world is that the impact of new industries in an industrially undeveloped region may or may not result in a more dynamic effect than would the addition of plants to an economically stable, industrial area. How the results will differ will depend upon factors such as the rate at which each region is developing industrially, reproduction rates, the forces governing the distribution of income, the skills of the labor force and the patterns of consumption which emerge.

These limitations do not exhaust the present shortcomings of input-output as an analytical tool in the study of the urban-metropolitan region. However, they do suggest that further research and cooperation among the social sciences are necessary in order to acquire a

and less costly urban transit, is a classic example of the latter (See Walter Firey, *Land Use in Central Boston*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1947).

¹³ For example, see Duncan L. Burn, *The Economic History of Steelmaking, 1867-1939*, Cambridge: The University Press, 1940; and Wilbert E. Moore, "Theoretical Aspects of Industrialization," *Social Research*, Vol. XV (September, 1948), pp. 277-303.

finer insight into the interrelations of the city. Input-output, by stressing the interdependency of economic variables, does not purport to describe the entire chain of processes that characterize urban areas, but it does offer a base upon which more extended investigations may be built.

We have briefly sketched a way of viewing economic interrelations within metropolitan regions. To some extent we have overstated the importance of the export sector, for clearly cities are not merely economic organisms; nevertheless we feel that this conception is a valid one. It focuses attention upon the process by which employment in the basic export industries is associated with employment and output in other industries. This partly explains

how the city functions from an economic point of view, and it allows us to anticipate change in the economic structure of urban areas in a more rigorous, operational manner. Once we can explain what happens in the export sector we are in a better position to describe the reactions of the other sectors, and this is achieved not by simple rule-of-thumb computations, but by paying attention to certain basic structural relations. Hence, by studying locational shifts within the export sector of the economy, we are in a position to throw at least some light on the question of whether in general urban-metropolitan areas will grow, or more specifically, which will grow and which will decline.

COMMUNICATIONS AND OPINIONS



COMMENT ON DUNCAN'S PAPER, "IS THE INTELLIGENCE OF THE GENERAL POPULATION DECLINING?"

To the Editor:

I have read with a good deal of interest Professor O. D. Duncan's paper, "Is the Intelligence of the General Population Declining?" in the August, 1952 issue. Professor Duncan examines the question of whether or not the United States is on its way to becoming a nation of near half-wits. He holds the hypothesis of declining intelligence to be untenable.

I thought it might be of some general interest to point out that, on the basis of some of the assumptions, projections, and evidence employed by proponents of the declining intelligence hypothesis, (1) we are already a nation with below median intelligence and (2) the general intelligence level of the population is increasing, rather than decreasing.

Table 1 in the above article gives the distribution of intelligence by occupational groups. If it is assumed, as it has been by members of the declining intelligence school, that this intellectual distribution is representative of all occupational groups in the United States, circa 1924, the corollary follows that most people in the United States are below median intelligence. According to the 1920 United States occupational census, 25.6 per cent of all gainfully employed workers follow professional, business, or clerical pursuits. Table 1 indicates that these are the only occupational groups with median I.Q.s above 100. Thus, approximately 75.0 per cent of our population was below median intelligence as early as the 1920's.

Retrojecting the intellectual distribution of Table 1 to the 1910 United States occupational census, we find only 21.1 per cent of the population with above median intelligence. Projecting the intellectual distribution to 1930, we find 29.9 per cent of the population with above median intelligence; and projecting to 1940, we find 31.3 per cent of the population with above median intelligence. It thus appears, if intelligence quotients are related to the degree of intellectual development required for success in different occupations, that the proportion of the population with above median intelligence is increasing and the proportion with below

median intelligence is decreasing with the passage of time.

Basically, intelligence is said to be the ability to use one's past experience effectively for the solving of present problems, and the anticipation of new ones. There is a difference between knowledge and intelligence. Knowledge is the possession of the facts about something, but intelligence is the ability to use that knowledge. Yet knowledge and information are assumed to be criteria of ability and intelligence by fabricators of psychometric tests. It is rather futile for one to become concerned with the intelligence of future generations when we are not certain what test-intelligence scores measure. In seeking to ascertain trends in intelligence we need not only valid tests, but tests that are "class fair" and perhaps "generation fair" if we are going to compare succeeding generations.

RAYMOND A. MULLIGAN

DePauw University

TWO COMMENTS OF THE REVIEW OF TALCOTT PARSONS, *SOCIAL SYSTEM*

To the Editor:

May I be permitted to comment on Professor Faris' review of Parsons' *Social System*, not for the purpose of taking issue with his excellent comments, but to point out an angle which he seems to have overlooked?

Faris is perfectly correct in asserting that the interdependence between cultural, social and personality aspects of behavior has been explicitly recognized by social theorists for many years. However, so far this viewpoint has not led to the development of a language which enables us to talk about a phenomenon in such a manner that these three aspects are simultaneously present in discourse. The significance of Parsons' book appears to me to be the fact that it is a systematic attempt to provide a terminology for the description of the dynamic interrelations of society, culture and personality. This explains two characteristics of the book that puzzle Faris. One is the use of hyphenated words which one must grant is awkward and which will probably be replaced by better symbols after further experimentation with the new ideas Parsons is struggling to express. The other is Parsons' apparent neglect of the concepts developed by other social theorists. I

agree that he should have given more credit to his predecessors, but is it not reasonable to assume that, regardless of the utility of the terminology of Cooley, Park, *et al.*, progress in social theory requires breaking through the barrier of familiar sounds, of conventional and routine ways of talking about phenomena? Is it not possible that we have reached the limits of the utility of well-worn tools and are in need of new concepts in order to advance social inquiry?

Few things are more difficult than pioneering in ways of thought. Apparently Parsons is trying to say things which are poorly conveyed by such perennial terms as "attitude," "mores," or the "looking glass self." If his thoughts fail to be clear and precise this is only partly due to the fact that his writing lacks grace and style. It is more likely that it is due to the absence of tested symbols for expressing the new insights suggested by recent developments in interdisciplinary research.

There will always be times when social theory will strike us as fanciful. These are the times when social theory is ahead of our factual knowledge and our acquired skills. We have an example of this in the allied field of research methodology. It is well known that in this field theoretical constructions (latent attribute analysis, scale models, etc.) are in advance of our technical skills in processing available empirical data.

Therefore, let us not be shocked by the unfamiliar. Instead, let us patiently inquire: does it enable us to know or do something that we did not know or could not do before?

THEODORE ABEL

Hunter College

To the Editor:

I was considerably surprised at the tone of Ellsworth Faris' review of *The Social System* by Talcott Parsons, which appeared in the February issue of the *American Sociological Review*. In an article four pages in length there is not one favorable reference to this book. The reason for my surprise is that Faris' estimate of its value differs so widely from my own.

As a psychiatrist, I have been very interested in attempts by social scientists, psychologists and psychiatrists to erect conceptual systems which will have both practical value and will enable the interest in the behavior of the individual to be brought into relation to the behavior of groups and societies. Among the many notable attempts to accomplish this aim Professor Parsons' theoretical conceptual system strikes me as one of the most fruitful. In my own work I have found his concept of roles as systems of transaction to be extremely useful.

His attempt to break down the role system of interaction into fundamental building blocks and to use these basic elements to construct patterns which will explain the structure and function of a social system on the one hand and the motivational system of the individual on the other seems to me to have great merit. Parsons, himself, has shown how his conceptual system can be used in the analysis of the behavior of the medical profession and in the understanding of the doctor-patient relationship. I have found that it can be developed in even greater detail in understanding more fully the transactions between the therapist and patient in the psychotherapeutic situation.

I am convinced that the merit of Parsons' contribution is great and that it deserves support and the collaboration of many others in exploring its ultimate usefulness.

JOHN P. SPIEGEL

Chicago, Illinois

REJOINDER

To the Editor:

Professor Abel's explanation of the awkward sesqui-pedalian words seems quite plausible. But since Parsons' struggle to express new ideas has proven well-nigh futile, so far, it is to be hoped that the "better symbols" which Abel prophesies will be found before additional publication. The minimum requirement is that the writing be intelligible.

The "new ideas" still await announcement, for the "new" contributions so proudly set forth are emphatically not new, being current among us long before 1931.

With Professor Abel's attitude toward "well-worn concepts" it is impossible to agree. Far better to re-interpret the old than to discard the familiar. Our advance in knowledge must be cooperative and gradual. Large-scale substitution of standard terms leads to much confusion, loss of time, and lack of continuity. It leads to quarrels about words to the neglect of what the words stand for.

Chemistry, mathematics, anatomy, physics, etc., each has a standard body of concepts so well agreed upon as to form an international universal language.

We cannot reach that goal now but at least we can preserve a vocabulary current and understood by the few hundred active members of the American Sociological Society. Let's do that.

The expression of opinion by Dr. Spiegel, a psychiatrist, on a controversial issue in sociology will be welcomed by the readers of the *Review*. It is by such well-mannered controversy that consensus is achieved.

ELLSWORTH FARIS

Lake Forest, Illinois

NEWS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS



European Society for Opinion Surveys and Market Research and the **World Association for Public Opinion Research** will hold a joint Conference at Vevey on the Lake of Geneva in Switzerland during the first week of September. All arrangements are being handled by Mr. Pierre Devrient, whose address is 87 Galeries du Commerce, Lausanne, Switzerland. Other members of the Conference Committee for WAPOR are Jan Stapel, Netherlands Institute of Public Opinion, Postbus 104, Amsterdam, The Netherlands; Leo Crespi, Reactions Analysis Staff, Office of Public Affairs, HICOG, APO 80, c/o Postmaster, New York, New York; and Henry Durant, British Institute of Public Opinion, 59 Brook Street, London W. 1, England.

The program which is now being devised will include sessions on questionnaire construction, readership research, research on the impact of communications, and a number of other subjects, papers for which are being prepared now.

Institute of Social Research at the University of Frankfurt A.M., Germany. Max Horkheimer, the Director, was recently re-elected for a second one-year term as President (Rektor) of Frankfurt University. T. W. Adorno, deputy director of the Institute, is on leave during the current semester to organize and coordinate socio-psychological studies at the Hacker Foundation, Los Angeles, California. During his absence, he is being replaced by Helmuth Plessner, professor of philosophy and sociology at the University of Goettingen, Germany. Kurt H. Wolff, associate professor of sociology at The Ohio State University, was connected with the Institute during the 1952 fall term.

International Sociological Association. The Second World Congress of Sociology, at Liege, Belgium, August 24 to September 1, 1953, will have four principal sections: (1) Social Stratification and Social Mobility, (2) Intergroup Conflicts and their Mediation, (3) Recent Developments in Sociological Research, and (4) The Professional Activities and Responsibilities of Sociologists. The working languages will be English and French, with public interpretation from French to English and English to French. A program of social activities, receptions, and excursions is to be arranged.

UNESCO has adopted a set of six resolutions dealing with the encouragement of social science research and exchange of findings among scholars of various countries. Scholars are invited to send relevant research to the Department of Social

Sciences, UNESCO House, 19 Ave. Kleber, Paris, and correspondence on questions of research is welcomed by Dr. C. J. Nuesse, Dean, School of Social Sciences, Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C.

American Association for the Advancement of Science. The award of \$1,000, made available by an anonymous donor, for an essay in social science considered to be the most noteworthy contribution in 1952, was won by Arnold Rose. The title of the prize paper is, "A Theory of Social Organization and Disorganization." Honorable mention was given to a contribution by Stuart C. Dodd, "Controlled Experiments in Interacting: Testing the Interactance Hypothesis Factor by Factor."

American Association for Public Opinion Research, Inc. The 1953 Conference was held at Pocono Manor Inn, Pocono Manor, Pennsylvania, on May 15-17. The program chairman was Harry Alpert of the National Science Foundation, Washington, D. C. The officers of AAPOR are Archibald Crossley of Crossley, Inc., president; Samuel A. Stouffer of Harvard University, vice-president; and Helen S. Dinerman of International Public Opinion Research, Inc., secretary-treasurer.

The National Council on Family Relations will hold its annual conference at the Kelloggs Center for Continuing Education, East Lansing, Michigan, September 1-3, 1953. Further information may be obtained by writing to the Council at 5757 South Drexel Avenue, Chicago 37, Illinois.

The Pacific Sociological Society recently elected the following officers for the year 1953-54: Robert E. L. Faris, president; William S. Robinson, Harold E. Jones, Clarence Schrag, vice-presidents; Ralph H. Turner, secretary-treasurer. Joel V. Bererman and Harold S. Jacoby were elected members of the Advisory Council.

Social Science Research Council. An intensive summer session in mathematics for social scientists will be held at Dartmouth College, Hanover, New Hampshire from June 22 through August 14, 1953 under sponsorship of the Social Science Research Council. The Institute is supported by a grant from the Behavioral Sciences Division of the Ford Foundation.

The Institute is open to faculty members and predoctoral and postdoctoral students who wish to improve their mathematical training for the scientific study of human behavior. Holders of the

bachelor's degree who are about to enter graduate schools may also be admitted. Enrollment will be limited to about thirty, and preference will be given to applicants who are not over forty years of age.

Applicants should have had at least one semester of college mathematics or its equivalent in independent study.

The Council also announces the inauguration of a new program of stipends and fellowships designed to identify and assist able students at an early stage of their education. A grant from the Behavioral Sciences Division of the Ford Foundation enables the Council to offer, during a period of three or four years beginning in 1953, Undergraduate Research Stipends which may be followed by First Year Graduate Study Fellowships. It is hoped that a period of first hand research at a time when career choices are often made will afford qualified students an opportunity to consider the scientific study of human behavior as a career, and will also be in itself a valuable educational experience not usually available in college curricula.

Undergraduate Research Stipends will be awarded to college juniors who will devote eight weeks or more during the summer between their junior and senior years to research under the intimate guidance of designated faculty supervisors. It is expected that the research begun in the summer will be brought to completion as a part of the student's academic work for the senior year. Awards of First Year Graduate Study Fellowships will be made in the latter part of the senior year to about one-half of the undergraduate stipend holders who have shown superior promise of making successful careers in the scientific study of human behavior.

Further information may be obtained from the Council, 726 Jackson Place, N.W., Washington 6, D. C.

University of Bridgeport. Joseph S. Roucek, Chairman of the Departments of Sociology and Political Science, was visiting lecturer at the University of Puerto Rico during the summer of 1952. He has since published several articles on Puerto Rico.

Abraham E. Knepler, Associate Professor of Sociology, has been renamed Connecticut chairman of the Tri-State Council on Family Relations. Dr. Knepler, who has been director of the University's Summer Workshops in Intergroup Relations, will also direct the newly established Spring Workshop in Intergroup Relations.

William T. DeSiero, who served as Lecturer in Sociology and Political Science in 1951-52, has been appointed Instructor in Sociology and Political Science.

University of California, Los Angeles. Dramatic presentation of the basic ideas of anthropology and sociology in the form of thirteen half-hour radio shows has been produced under the supervision of Walter Goldschmidt of the Department of Anthropology and Sociology of UCLA. These shows have been released over eighty educational stations, and are now available in album

form to commercial stations, institutions, and private persons. The shows treat with concepts and understandings of social behavior and cultural forms, but are designed to appeal to a general audience through the use of dramatic techniques. Each script deals with one of the following topics: culture, society, language, education, technology, values, ethics, religion, authority, groups, status and role, family, arts. The dramas are based upon examples from the literature of ethnology and sociology.

The project is an activity of the National Association of Educational Broadcasters, made possible by a grant from the Fund for Adult Education, an independent organization established by the Ford Foundation. The shows have been prepared by professional writers and produced in the studios of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation by Andrew Allan. Participating as a board of consultants for the series were Robert Redfield, Cora Du Bois, A. L. Kroeber, Margaret Mead, and Ralph L. Beals. A second series of thirteen shows is now being prepared by Dr. Goldschmidt.

The album contains the thirteen programs on long-playing records and is available for twenty-five dollars, the cost of the pressings. Further information can be obtained from Frank Schooley, NAEB, University of Illinois, Urbana.

Florida State University. John L. Haer has joined the staff of the Department of Sociology as Assistant Professor, handling courses in sociological theory and methods of research. Dr. Haer was formerly a Research Associate of the Washington Public Opinion Laboratory.

Indiana University. Clifford Kirkpatrick has resigned the chairmanship of the department, effective August 31, in order to devote himself more fully to research and teaching.

Alfred R. Lindesmith, associate professor, is in India on a Fulbright grant to teach at Indore Christian College, Indore, Madhya Barat, India.

George Grosser, Ph.D. in Sociology from Harvard University, has been appointed Lecturer in Sociology and is teaching courses in social psychology.

Albert K. Cohen participated last summer in the Social Science Research Council Inter-University Seminar on Social Integration held at Ann Arbor, Michigan.

Iowa State College. The staff for this year is composed of George Beal, Joe Bahlen, George A. Freeman, David Fulcomer, Joseph Gittler, Dean Harper, Paul Jehlik, Walter Lunden, Baline Porter, Dwight Ramsay, William Stacy, Janet Supernois, Ray Wakeley and Lloyd Young.

The Commission on Educational Organizations of the National Conference of Christians and Jews has granted a sum of money for an exploratory study of the possibilities of including a program of intercultural relations in agricultural extension. The survey is under the direction of Joseph B. Gittler.

David Fulcomer has been elected vice-president

of the National Council on Family Relations for the year 1953.

Ray Wakeley has returned to Brazil for three weeks to make a report to the Latin American Seminar on Rural Welfare, Rio de Janeiro, under the sponsorship of FAO of the United Nations.

Miami University. Donald J. Bogue, demographer on the staff of Scripps Foundation, has accepted a half-time appointment as Associate Professor of Sociology at the University of Chicago. The University of Chicago and Scripps Foundation will co-sponsor his continuing research on population distribution. A major part of his research staff will remain at the Foundation.

University of Michigan. Robert C. Angell has been serving as an Alternate Delegate in the American Delegation to the Seventh UNESCO General Conference and as Vice-Chairman of the American National Commission for UNESCO. He has also recently become a member of the Executive Committee of the International Sociological Association and a member of the Advisory Council of the Center for Research on World Political Institutes, Princeton University, Woodrow Wilson School for International Affairs.

Horace M. Miner has been granted a sabbatical leave for the second semester 1952-53. He will spend the time in Paris on research in African cultural materials. Dr. Miner was recently appointed for a second term to the International Labor Organization.

Morris Janowitz has been appointed as a half-time research associate in the University of Michigan, Institute of Public Administration.

Guy E. Swanson has received jointly with Daniel A. Miller of the Psychology Department a grant from the United States Institute for Mental Health for study of basic research on social factors in the emotional disorders of children.

David Aberle, Josephine Williams and Robert O. Blood joined the staff of the department in September 1952.

University of Oregon. Herbert Bisno joined the staff in September to handle courses in pre-professional social work.

Walter Martin has an SSRC grant this year and is on leave from the campus. Dr. Martin spent the first five months of his leave at the Bureau of the Census and will spend the remainder at Columbia University and with the Scripps Foundation. Dr. Shu-Ching Lee, recently of The University of Chicago, is replacing Dr. Martin.

John James has received a grant from SSRC to continue his studies on small group leadership.

Hermann Mannheim of the London School of Economics has been visiting professor during spring term.

Snell and Gladys Putney have returned from Mexico where they spent last year studying the impact of fostered cultural changes in two native villages. Their study was supported by a grant from the Doherty Foundation.

John Foskett is aiding in a community survey supported from a Kellogg Foundation grant.

Joel Berreman is in charge of the university's graduate program in General Studies.

Elon Moore offered a special seminar on Later Maturity during the summer to personnel officers and social workers in Portland.

Texas Christian University. Howard E. Jensen, Chairman of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Duke University, is serving during the current semester (Spring, 1953) as Distinguished Professor of Sociology. He is giving two courses—one in the Interrelations of the Social Sciences and the other is called Science, Religion, and Ethics in Society. Dr. Jensen holds the second distinguished professorship in sociology in the history of the sociology department in Texas Christian University. The first man to be so honored was Ellsworth Faris in the Spring of 1951.

Dr. Jensen also was the principal speaker at the general session of the Southwestern Social Science Association held in Dallas, April 3-4, 1953.

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OBITUARIES

SEBA ELDRIDGE

Seba Eldridge died of a cerebral hemorrhage on February 16, 1953. He was 67 years old. Although he had a progressive condition of arteriosclerosis for some years and had been able to give only part-time services, he did not miss a class until the day of his death. His intellectual powers were unimpaired, and he was vigorously implementing a six-year program for a research investigation on a sociopsychiatric problem during his last months.

Thus his death seems sudden, and to us, his closer colleagues here and elsewhere, a truly poignant loss. As I write these lines under the spell of the shock and against the hour of the *Review's* going to press, words are feeble and cease to perform their mission. Eldridge would not want the conventional encomiums, and the fuller significance of his life and works becomes impossible to convey.

Seba Eldridge was born July 22, 1885, near Dunn, North Carolina, and grew up on a North Carolina farm. His rural, pietistic background exerted a strong influence on his temperament and character, a fact he himself emphasized in several autobiographical sketches and utilized for illustrative purposes in classroom discussions. The route by which he came upon sociology was so devious as to seem quite improbable. His family were respected rural folk, but their tradition provided little toward the cultivation of a love of learning—the love that came to dominate his life. He surmounted serious obstacles to get a college education, and the degree he took at North Carolina State was in civil engineering with few courses that even touched on the social sciences or humanities. Nevertheless, there were currents in the college atmosphere that fanned the sparks of his intellectual quest. Perhaps this, coupled with a disillusioning year spent at engineering work, explains his shift from engineering to the human relations sciences.

The decisive trek in the new direction bore him to New York City where he earned an A.B. from Columbia University in 1911, while engaging in social work and civic reform activities. He served as secretary of the department of social betterment of the Brooklyn Bureau of Charities for three years, and organized the Commission on the Federal Constitution which he directed until 1915. Some one has said, "Scratch a sociologist and you'll find a reformer." I suppose this could fairly have been said, with some reservations, of Eldridge. The main tenor of his diverse activities in the metropolis during these years would appear such as to condition a reformist bent, and make the odds heavy that he would follow the career

of a welfare worker or become the prophet of some humanitarian cause. True, he had come under the influence of Giddings in the classroom and at the informal sessions of the Giddings Club. There, spurred by Ogburn and others, the "drive toward objectivity" was on, with copious beer mellowing the controversies. Yet Seba has often said that he believed the impact of Felix Adler and the Ethical Culture movement to have outweighed that of Giddings in his development. Social philosophy became the center of his studies, his doctoral dissertation (later published as *The Organization of Life*) having been completed under John Dewey in the Columbia University Philosophy Department. His sociological interests ripened under Dewey, but he became a sharp critic of the latter's pragmatic philosophy even while serving as an assistant in the Columbia University department.

Perhaps the Giddings influence was greater than he recognized; perhaps his experiences in the welfare field had taught the need of a science of society; perhaps the market for philosophers was sluggish. At all events, Eldridge went forth from Columbia University Department of Philosophy as a sociologist and devoted his life career to our discipline. After short tours of duty at Smith College (1918-19) as assistant professor of sociology and economics, and at Rockford College, Illinois (1919-21), as professor of sociology, he joined the staff of the University of Kansas as associate professor of sociology in 1921, where he remained the rest of his life. In 1929 he was promoted to full professor, and from 1942 to 1945 he served as acting chairman.

In 1922 he first became my teacher, in a rural sociology course for undergraduates. This class was not popular, for Eldridge, as he himself recognized, was not in tune with the undergraduate mind and drew few plaudits from Joe College. But a fair percentage of us were captured by the incisiveness of his thinking and the breadth of his social horizon. Later he helped guide me as a graduate student, as a junior colleague, and as co-writer of a text of which he was senior author. In these relationships he was always first of all the friend and the co-learner, never the authoritarian professor. Others, like Noel Gist, Marston McCluggage, Clarence Senior and Frank Glick, who also enjoyed close contacts with him, have said the same. Several of us who had been his students later joined the Kansas department as his colleagues. In such situations, from time immemorial, conflict has threatened student-teacher relationships, as the student's intellectual maturation compelled him to assert his autonomy as a thinker. But none of us who worked with Seba Eldridge

was ever egged to schismatic strife. He neither expected nor demanded discipleship. When Stuart Queen left the department in 1930, Eldridge might have succeeded to the chairmanship. However, he loathed administrative chores, cared nothing for the titular prestige, and preferred to bring another—a student who differed with him as to the goals and methods of sociology—to fill the place. That the department has since had years of relatively smooth sailing is in no small measure owing to his informal leadership, his tension-relieving dry humor, and his propensity to practice the social cooperation he advocated.

No effort will be made here to assess Eldridge's position in the stream of American sociological thought. He was at his best as a political sociologist, and believed that, in *The Development of Collective Enterprise in the United States*, he and his colleagues had refuted a main thesis of Karl Marx—no small undertaking even if it were but half successful, and a noteworthy effort on the part of a man who did not hesitate to proclaim in and out of the classroom that Marx was a great social thinker. In his earlier *Political Action* Eldridge pioneered in a direction now catching the fancy of political scientists and industrial sociologists, but he employed the instinct psychology then in vogue with the results one might expect. His ardor for a citizenship more rational and based on sound education employing concrete situational training, is reflected in his *The New Citizenship*, *New Social Horizons*, *Public Intelligence*, and his last published work, *The Dynamics of Social Action*. In none of his works did he attempt to operate with a closed system of theory confined to the "superorganic" or sociological level, and he believed that to confine the scope of sociology in such fashion was to vitiate its synthesizing function.

In the development of sociology at the University of Kansas, Eldridge played a transitional role. He overlapped the era of Frank W. Blackmar, the first-generation pioneer, and the third generation sociologists and anthropologists. Most of those of the later generation define the scope and task of sociology with more rigor than Eldridge was prone to do, but at the same time many have been chided out of any tendencies to pedantic narrowness or delusions of Olympian objectivity by this colleague who did not eschew the word "reform."

Seba Eldridge rejected the prevailing pattern of bereavement behavior. He was put away simply, by cremation. His wife, a trained nurse and lay social worker who once nursed him through a long illness, preceded him in death. His only son, Seba junior, was the sole member of the family in attendance.

Afterwards, we held the routine February meeting of the Department. No mention was made of a vacant chair, but before the minutes of the last meeting were read, we talked—and joked some—about Eldridge and his ideas and his all-too-human ways. We think that is the way he would have wanted it.

CARROLL D. CLARK

University of Kansas

PAUL K. HATT

The death of Paul K. Hatt is a great loss to his friends and to social science alike. Already at the age of thirty-eight years he had moved from the stage of professional promise to that of solid accomplishment. He was widely known for his contributions to sociology, particularly in demography and stratification.

Hatt was born October 30, 1914, in Vancouver, British Columbia. He did his undergraduate work at Linfield College, where he received his A.B. degree in 1936. He had his graduate training at the University of Washington, where he took his Ph.D. degree in 1945.

His first teaching appointment was at the University of Idaho, where he served one year as an instructor. During the years 1942 to 1944 he was connected with the Welfare Service of the American Red Cross, being stationed at Whidby Island, Washington. In February, 1944, he accepted a position as instructor at Miami University which post he held until the fall of 1945, when he became an assistant professor at Ohio State University. He remained on the staff of Ohio State until June, 1947, although for part of this period he was on leave of absence to serve as Associate Director of the College Study in Inter-Group Relations, a project sponsored by the American Council on Education. The headquarters of this project was at Wayne University. In the autumn of 1947 he became assistant professor of sociology at Princeton University and Research Associate in the Office of Population Research. In September, 1949, he joined the department of sociology at Northwestern University with a full professorship.

From the outset of his career Paul Hatt proved to be a brilliant teacher. His clear and analytical mind coupled with enthusiasm for his subject matter carried over to his students, one and all.

At Northwestern he built up the work in urban ecology, stratification, and demography, and helped design and direct the equipping of the Laboratory for Social Research. During the period of his service at Northwestern he began a variety of research projects aimed at studying the relationships of fertility, mobility, and class structuring. In setting up these projects,

he drew heavily upon his previous research in Puerto Rico and had planned a number of additional projects using other data from the island.

The high regard which his research and stratification work had among his colleagues is shown by the fact that he was selected by the Social Science Research Council to be chairman of their Committee on Stratification. At the time of his death he was planning one of a variety of projects set up by this Committee. He was one of the assistant editors of the *American Sociological Review* and last December had accepted the editorship of a sociology series for Henry Holt and Company.

The publication record of Professor Hatt reflects the breadth of his research interests and his high productivity, ranging with his first published paper in 1940 on anti-semitism to his last one, jointly with Nelson Foote, on social mobility. In 1951, he published, with A. J. Reiss as co-editor, *Reader in Urban Sociology* and during 1952 three books appeared under his name. His monograph, *Backgrounds of Human Fertility in Puerto Rico*, has been very well received. He was co-author with W. J. Goode of *Methods in Social Research*. Then, too, he edited and prepared technical comments on the Proceedings of the Second Centennial Academic Conference of Northwestern University which are published under the title, *World Population and Future Resources*. And, finally, shortly before his death he had completed a thorough revision of Paul H. Landis' *Population Problems*. This revision is scheduled for spring publication in 1953.

During the winter and spring of 1952 Professor Hatt suffered from a severe heart condition, but during the fall quarter he seemed in good health again. He was granted a leave of absence for the winter quarter of the present academic year to direct some research in Puerto Rico in collaboration with the Social Science Research Center of the University of Puerto Rico. He and Mrs. Hatt had stopped off at

Havana to spend the New Year's holiday with some friends there, when he was stricken with another and fatal heart attack. On January 31 a memorial service was held in Lutkin Hall, Northwestern University.

While a meticulous empiricist in his research, Professor Hatt was fully aware of his obligations as a citizen. He was interested in politics, in problems of race relations, and other civic affairs. He was always willing to contribute his services to worthy community projects.

As a personality, Paul Hatt was warm and expansive; he had a good sense of humor and a broad interest in the arts. He was *au courant* with modern music, literature, and painting. He had a wide circle of friends and acquaintances who will long remember him as a wonderful companion with a great zest for life.

KIMBALL YOUNG

Northwestern University



The *Review* regrets to report the recent deaths of two other active members of the Society.

Henry B. Martz, who has been an active member since May 1951, died suddenly on December 6, 1952. Dr. Martz received the M.S. in Education at the Pennsylvania State College in 1930, and the Ph.D. in Educational Sociology at the University of Pittsburgh in 1945. He was recently an associate professor at Morris Harvey College, Charleston, West Virginia.

Francis S. Wilder, an active member since May 1951, died suddenly on December 20, 1952. Dr. Wilder received the A.B. in Sociology from the University of North Carolina in 1926 and the Ph.D. in Economics in 1939 from the same university. He has taught at Atlanta University, Biltmore Junior College, and Duke University, and was at the time of his death an associate professor of Economics and Sociology at Lafayette College.

BOOK REVIEWS



Society and Personality Disorders. By S. KIRSON WEINBERG. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1952. viii, 536 pp. \$5.75.

The writing and publication of this book was inevitable, the only intriguing question in the minds of sociologists concerned with its subject matter being the identity of him who would rush in where others obviously have feared to tread. If for no other reason Professor Weinberg merits a salute to his courage in undertaking the delimitation of the field of "social psychiatry" (be it noted, however, that he eschews the use of this term). From the author's prefatory statement that the book is intended as an "integrated analysis of disordered behavior from social psychological and sociological viewpoints," we gather that he believes that there is not only a legitimate disciplinary preserve but also a sociological literature sufficiently rich to justify its exploitation. Whether this book "proves up the claim" remains debatable.

The author casts his analysis into five parts: approach and theory, disordered behavior and the social process, treatment, care and custody, and rehabilitation and prevention. The thesis or theory with which research materials and observations are brought together under these headings is familiar enough: disordered behavior is a breakdown in social learning and results from obstructions in communication and in social participation. The rubrics caption a "developmental approach" to disordered behavior, although this is obviously a convenient way of grouping data and discussion rather than a progressive detailing of the central theory, which, it is stated, cannot be done within the scope of one volume. The perceptive reader immediately may wonder whether the author has not thus skirted the most crucial problem of relating social and cultural factors to personality disorders.

In a very general way the author establishes a point of view which, however, in most respects is a re-emphasis of what every sociologist knows, namely that such things as culture conflicts, crises, insecurity, frustration, social isolation, depersonalization, lack of affection, and over-competitiveness are somehow importantly involved in the production of mental disorders. Beyond this we are advanced little save perhaps by the author's "dynamic typology" of schizo-

phrenia and his introduction of "acting out" disorders to replace the frayed concept of psychopathy. In actuality these innovations are elaborations of formal psychiatric classifications rather than theoretical products of his sociological postulates.

There is little in the way of rigorous treatment of ideas in this book but the shortcoming is inherent in the contradictory data and concepts with which the author had to deal. He recognizes this when he speaks of the "scant data" and the "vagueness" of this or that psychiatric concept, and when he is driven to qualifications of qualifications, as for example: "Although the socially isolated child . . . does not invariably become schizophrenic, the child who accepts his social isolation, who begins to despair of receiving affection . . . may tend to become more predisposed to a schizophrenic disorder. . . ."

In contrast to this laudable kind of cautiousness there are passages in the book in which quite elaborate formulations are erected upon shreds of data. In this connection there is a tendency to reify concepts like "neurotic American," the "usual American family," and the "middle class child." The need to beef up his interpretations also led to some theoretical inconsistency on the author's part. He quite early rejects the notion that childhood maladjustment is a necessary antecedent of neurosis and psychosis yet later speaks of the "shy" child, the "protoneurotic," the "prepsychotic," and "preschizophrenic" personality as if they were demonstrable entities. Indeed there seems to be a lack of awareness of the important theoretical point in issue here.

While the author's grasp of the literature and acquaintance with the data in the field are impressively broad, still there are flagrant omissions. Psychosomatic medicine is glossed over, with no reference at all to the dozen or so empirical studies available. The large and growing literature of wartime psychiatry remained relatively untapped. In the light of the author's avowed concern with "obstacles to communication" as a factor in the development of personality disorders he could have drawn much more heavily upon Cameron's writings than he did. The discussion of the prevention of personality disorders is completely innocent of any effort to see such things as "mental health"

and "mental hygiene" as social phenomena in themselves worthy of analysis. The oversight or omission of any reference to Kingsley Davis' class critique of the Mental Hygiene Movement seems glaring here.

The treatment of the mental hospital as a social structure is competently and in places exceptionally well done, which points up an area in which sociologists confidently may expect to make important theoretical and research contributions. Likewise the chapter on the patient and the community contains many insightful observations. Both discussions are illumined by original case history materials of the sort not ordinarily found in mental hospital records, dwelling primarily upon attitudes and feelings of patients towards administrative procedures within the hospital and towards the stereotypic reactions of relatives after the patient's release from confinement.

EDWIN M. LEMERT

*University of California at
Los Angeles*

Who Are the Guilty? A Study of Education and Crime. By DAVID ABRAHAMSEN. New York: Rinehart and Company, Inc., 1952. ix, 340 pp. \$5.00.

According to the author, conventional society by its inadequate institutions is as responsible for criminal behavior as is the individual offender. In a plea for better treatment of the criminal, the author describes the etiology of crime from a psychoanalytic viewpoint, characterizes the psychodynamics of some types of offenders, such as sex deviates and murderers, points out the inadequacies of the prison system, suggests the increased use of individual and group psychotherapy as rehabilitating mediums, and concludes that by applying mental health techniques in the school and by spreading education generally, crime can be reduced.

Although the author recognizes the social aspects of "treatment" and prevention his emphasis is basically clinical and individualistic. It centers about the emotional relations of the family and stresses the emotional deprivation, anti-social tendencies and arrested personality development of the offender as the prime causative factors in crime. Consequently, the author considers all criminals as emotionally ill or as defective in some way. ("In all my experience I have not been able to find one single offender who did not show some mental pathology in his emotions or in his character or in his intelligence" p. 125.) But the author does not definitely differentiate between the normal and the abnormal (e.g., "we do not know where the border is between the normal and abnormal mind" p. 122), and he does not differentiate

convincingly between abnormal conventional persons and abnormal criminals (e.g., "... a criminal turns his aggressions outward and often gets locked up, whereas in other forms of mental illness the person turns his hostilities inward and thereby in one way or another locks himself up" p. 127). In short, the author leads himself into the logical redundancy that the abnormal criminal commits crimes and the abnormal conventional person does not, while also emphasizing that acting-out, anti-social behavior can be expressed within legal bounds and need not coincide with criminal behavior.

By ignoring the vast literature and research of sociology and social psychology, the author does not have to grapple with the etiological problem that criminal behavior may result from differential association in later years. In general his viewpoint and analyses are reiterations of the familiar psychoanalytic theme, and do not add to the basic findings of Healy and Bronner, Bromberg, Alexander and Staub, although the author does include some findings from an investigation of sex offenders and of the frequency of psychosomatic symptoms in delinquents and non-delinquents. Because of his individualistic viewpoint, his proposals for treatment and prevention lose some force.

First, he suggests that individual psychotherapy be made one of the chief means of treating offenders. However desirable and necessary this technique would be for some offenders, as an over-all policy the technique would take too long, perhaps would be forbiddingly expensive and would reveal the shortage of psychiatrists. His suggestions concerning group psychotherapy seem more feasible in this respect. Second, he overemphasizes the irrational processes in criminal behavior (e.g., "A delinquent person does not realize his emotional necessity for committing a crime. He is emotionally blind and therefore cannot understand it" p. 142). This characterization may apply to some offenders but not to others who regard crime as a means of social mobility which they cannot achieve by conventional means. Third, by overemphasizing the emotional climate of the family, he underestimates the significance of community and peer gang influences in the reduction of crime. Despite these and other oversights, the author does make some plausible suggestions, such as of following up discharged criminals in out-patient centers, integrating a delinquency prevention program with a general mental health program, and re-orienting the conventional society to a more positive understanding towards the development and treatment of criminals. A bibliography is appended.

S. KIRSON WEINBERG

Roosevelt College

Crime and Correction: Selected Papers. By SHELDON GLUECK. Cambridge: Addison-Wesley Press, Inc., 1952. x, 273 pp. \$3.50.

Publication, as a volume, of articles which appeared earlier in scientific journals is a practice often resorted to for various purposes, but whatever the purpose, in most cases it is a hazardous procedure. However useful they may have appeared in the original, by the time they are assembled into a volume the articles often seem dated, their insights now seem commonplace, or they hang together poorly. In the case of *Crime and Correction*, however, the outcome is a very fortunate one, for we have a happy instance where a collection of articles, some recent, some going back as far as a quarter of a century, makes up a good and stimulating volume.

Many of the articles deal with issues which are still the order of the day. Unwittingly the thought comes to mind that this must be due to the slowness of progress in crime and delinquency control, making it possible for articles to appear as a contemporary contribution a quarter of a century after their actual publication date. And if one adds that some of Professor Glueck's articles which were written in the twenties restated problems raised by early continental criminologists in the 1880's and 1890's, the view of progress in the field of practical criminology becomes even dimmer.

As in all such publications, the articles have retained their value to a varying extent. To this reader the articles of Part II, "Administration of Criminal Justice," seem by far the most suitable for republication. The issues raised are those which contemporary criminologists are facing and for which they are seeking a practical solution even this very day. What might be referred to as the general theme of the volume, namely, the need for a rational re-examination of our methods of handling the crime problem and suggestions for fundamental reforms, finds its best expression in this part of the book. In developing this theme, the author goes much deeper than the level of conventional generalities and actually comes up with some concrete proposals. Any student of criminology who has not yet done so should read "The Ministry of Justice," "Principles of a Rational Penal Code," and "Significant Transformations in the Administration of Criminal Justice."

It is, however, "The Future of American Penology" that strikes this reviewer as the most penetrating and worthwhile chapter of the volume. Breadth of perspective and crystal-clear reasoning make this short statement a gem of contemporary criminological writing. Although placed elsewhere, it really belongs in the same

sequence as the articles of Part II. In Part III, on psychiatry and criminology, the lecture "Psychiatry and Criminal Law" stands out as a brilliant summary of the present status of the problem of the irresponsibility of the insane. On the other hand, such chapters as "The Status of Probation" and "Crime Prevention," although basically sound, now appear somewhat elementary and as belaboring what is obvious to anyone familiar with the field. The chapter on "Crime Causation," while interesting in parts, does not rise above the level of a rather conventional discussion and fails to provide that breath of fresh air which this area of criminological research badly needs.

This reviewer does not see the reason for including "Nuremberg Trial and Aggressive War" in the volume since it deals with an entirely different problem. There are, of course, passages and points of view in other chapters too with which one might disagree. For instance, this reviewer does not see how the author, in his "Report to the International Penal and Penitentiary Congress" on the present examination of offenders, when bringing in the so-called parole prediction devices, could fail to mention with one word the greatest parole prediction experiment in this country, namely that of the Illinois State Penitentiary System, and the literature which has grown out of this.

The reader should not omit the author's Introduction, which gives the necessary orientation to the volume.

PETER P. LEJINS

University of Maryland

Prisoners Are People. By KENYON J. SCUDDER. New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1952. 286 pp. \$3.00.

Sociologists should not be fooled by the semi-popular character of this book. It is not a manuscript that has been jazzed up by a Hollywood rewrite artist. It was written by Mr. Scudder, who has been since its inception superintendent of the California Institution for Men at Chino. It describes an encouraging attempt to provide a social atmosphere in which rehabilitation can take place.

Whether one considers a parole department or an institution for correction, its effectiveness is "but the lengthened shadow of its personnel." Back in 1941, fifty supervisors were needed for the new minimum security institution at Chino. The salaries offered were higher than those paid to prison guards. Twenty-three hundred individuals applied. Seven hundred who met the qualifications were allowed to take the written examination. Of these, the 225 with highest marks were interviewed. "We wanted young

men with personality, integrity, a sympathetic understanding, and ability to work with people," writes Mr. Scudder. "Former prison experience was not considered an asset." Twenty-nine of the men finally chosen had college degrees, eight more had two years of college training, five others were high school graduates. Only six were over thirty-two. Of this original staff of 50 supervisors, 41 are still in the California Department of Corrections—many of them in key positions—28 are at Chino.

For this new venture inmates were at first hand-picked by Scudder. A better selection of men is now being made by the guidance centers. One of the two diagnostic centers is, in fact, located on the grounds at Chino. At first only six per cent of the prisoner population of California was sent there; now it is twenty-two per cent. Indications are that the percentages will go higher. The average inmate population of Chino had risen by 1951 to 1,782 including 303 in road and forestry camps. "A minimum security institution should never have more than one thousand men," writes Scudder. "Better results would be obtained with 600."

The inmate teacher plan "has never been successful in any prison," says the author. More than 5,000 men in the prisons of his state are "enrolled in academic and trade courses taught by accredited teachers on the average daily attendance plan." A trade advisory council of union leaders and contractors helps to improve the training program.

Under the present rules at Chino "a whole family may come at eleven Sunday morning, bringing a picnic lunch, and remain until three in the afternoon." Picnic tables and grounds are provided for this purpose. "We found that our visiting policy had the effect of releasing sexual tensions rather than increasing them," Scudder reports. "Just to see and talk with women is a good thing for men in prison."

During the first four years of experience with this new institution, four per cent of the prisoners escaped. Study revealed that half of these men escaped during their first thirty days at Chino. By establishing a medium custody unit "where all new men are held for thirty to sixty days under close supervision, escapes have been reduced to less than two per cent."

Six per cent of the men paroled from Chino commit new felonies and are returned to prison on new commitments. The exact time covered by this study is not mentioned by Scudder, but it is based on data scientifically tabulated by Ronald Beattie, statistical consultant for the California Department of Corrections. In addition, three times this percentage are returned to prison for technical parole violations, such as, getting drunk, driving without a license, or leaving the county or state without

permission. Technical violations usually occur several times before the Adult Authority is willing to send the man back to prison.

Placing men in a pre-parole training unit thirty days prior to release cuts in half the percentage of technical violations. The prisoners in this unit continue a full work assignment, but they also devote two evenings a week to a two-hour study and lecture period where all phases of parole are discussed. Since "it costs about fifteen hundred dollars to arrest, return and keep a man in prison for one year," the men protected against trouble by this method saved the state many thousands of dollars and were at the same time free to support their families.

Scudder believes that prisons should be used as a last resort rather than as a first convenience. "A prison experience is apt to bring out the worst in a man," he writes. "I am convinced that half the first offenders sent to Chino could have made good on probation." For thirty to fifty per cent of any prison population "we do not need maximum custody," he continues. "Prisons for this group should be administered with a program aimed to adjust men to society, and they should be manned by personnel who understand people."

NORMAN S. HAYNER

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and the State Board of
Prison Terms and Paroles*

Disorganization: Personal and Social. By HERBERT A. BLOCH. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1952. xv, 608, x pp. \$5.00.

This is the first of a really new type of text for courses in social problems and disorganization. It presents a frame of reference that is not exclusively a matter of a few superimposed introductory remarks, and it avoids the unfortunate mistake of recording numerous and undigested statistical facts.

The frame of reference assumes the existence of social change, with emphasis placed on the theory of cultural lag; outlines a theory of personality development; and then proceeds to describe how personality disorganization emerges from the frustrations and conflicts of personal-social interaction in the changing social process. It is a social psychological frame of reference based on a "structured field theory."

Individual reactions which arise out of "crisis-situations" are said to be of the following limited character: (1) a return to former norms of behavior, (2) establishing a novel accepted form of behavior, (3) "attacks" such as delinquency and crime, (4) "retreats" to (a) psychopathic behavior or (b) mobility and migration (transients, hobos, tramps, etc.),

and (5) complete "removal" as in suicide. Six chapters are devoted to this theoretical approach. These are followed by sections on adolescence, crime and delinquency, sexual disorders, alcoholism, drug addiction, gambling, mobility, mental deficiency, mental derangement, and suicide.

The book should be a challenge to the intellectual interests of the student while at the same time it is suitable for use as the second course in sociology at the undergraduate level. With minor exceptions the topics considered are congruous with the social psychological frame of reference; hence the author has largely omitted the motley, unrelated number of topics which academic precedent and bias has chosen to include among "social problems."

For a text on social disorganization an inordinate amount of space is devoted to a discussion of the theoretical approach. The extensive introductory material on the theory of personality development is more than sufficient since the basic concepts and ideas are repeated with the discussion of each topic. The introductory theoretical material also includes the analysis of some concepts, for instance, cultural lag and Linton's "universals," which are virtually disregarded in the analysis of subject matter. The topic of mental deficiency is least of all suited for inclusion in the general frame of reference.

Considering the present stage of our science, the task of writing a text in this field is certainly a difficult one. With the endless array of unrelated empirical findings; with the varied and conflicting market demands for the text in this field; and with no consensus on a frame of reference, an integrated exposition of the subject approaches the impossible. The author of this text has tackled the problem by wisely omitting those subjects which fall outside his social psychological framework.

On the other hand, though the author disparages the eclectic approach which has so burdened the sociologist, the social psychological approach as used in this text has made it necessary to include reference to all the factors which influence individual behavior. Thus, the analysis of some forms of personal disorganization must carry the student to the data and theories of biology, medicine, psychiatry, psychology, as well as sociology. One wonders how much longer the teacher of courses in social disorganization must be a jack-of-all-trades in these matters. The requirements of academic curricula may still insist on introductory survey courses in "social problems," but the high intellectual level of this text could have avoided such broad eclecticism. Is there not a place for a text on social disorganization which is more strictly sociological—one which maintains the social

field theory and the social institutional frame of reference?

ARTHUR LEWIS WOOD

University of Connecticut

Sociology: An Analysis of Life in Modern Society. By ARNOLD W. GREEN. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1952. x, 579 pp. \$5.00.

Although this is the kind of adult, concise, and thoughtful introductory text that many of us have wished for, a careful examination of the book as a teaching device makes one wonder if the wish was not somewhat unrealistic.

In this long book, Green not only covers most of the topics expected in an introductory text, but also touches on aspects of topics which are customarily omitted. So vast is the scope of every chapter, that the whole gives an impression of terse brevity. From this very brevity stems most of the book's attractions for the sophisticate, and most of its shortcomings for the teacher of introductory sociology.

Hewing to his set goals, Green avoids such traditional gratuitous material as the detailed discussions of the mechanisms of genetics, or the timetable of human jaw and thigh development. But by the same token, some clearly broad and important topics get startlingly short shrift. The relationship of culture and personality, for example, is covered in less than three pages.

The characteristic brevity always permits the instructor to add and to build: in some cases (e.g., on groups, minorities, cultures, classes) to fill in meat and sinews on the lean and strong skeleton of generalizations; in other cases (e.g., on personality), to reassemble the bones themselves. This need of supplementation presents an intellectual challenge to the instructor. But to the student this same need, so continually felt, may well constitute a problem too difficult to stimulate attempted solutions. It is obviously ideal for a text to evoke in the student a desire for further information; but when every page evokes many such demands the student may become confused, frustrated, and finally passive.

The same kind of problems are presented by Green's quest, on the whole successful, of objectivity. But here again the result is so terse, so stark, that students may misunderstand, especially in reference to emotionally involved topics. The excellent discussion in Chapter I of the roles of scientist and sociologist is not likely to be remembered by the student who reads on page 296 that "Formerly, America's middle class preserved morality as a good in itself; today's middle class morality is much more solely a matter of reputation."

Similarly terse statements occur in reference to such highly charged topics as *social class* (pp. 41-2); *the question of equality* (p. 320); *race as a social problem* (pp. 324-5). For the trained reader these constitute no problem in understanding. But for the novice such naked objectivity may shock rather than teach. The undergraduate uninitiated in social disciplines may require fairly frequent reminders that the author is describing, not condoning or condemning. Objectivity, particularly on ego-involved topics, is initially difficult to accept; it is a new and essential frame of reference and the student who does not fully understand may mistrust and in fact misjudge the text.

Making this text an integral part of a course will entail extremely hard work on the part of the instructor. Not only must he read the book very carefully, but his existing and topically appropriate lectures will prove largely inadequate for the elucidation of Green's terse, objective exhaustiveness. The book presents a challenge to both instructor and student, and many instructors will welcome the stimulation. But for introductory courses taught by graduate assistants who are inexperienced at teaching and constantly pressed for time, this text may constitute a severe burden and may conceivably reduce the value of the course.

HOPE LUNIN KLAPPER

New York University

The Modern City: An Introduction to Urban Sociology. By SVEND RIERER. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1952. xi, 477 pp. \$5.50.

In the late '20s and late '30s there were at least seven texts published on urban sociology. Except for a revision or two, the fifteen or twenty years since then have been singularly free of such new books. This one by Svend Rierer is part of a current crop of three new texts and two new books of readings, not to mention two works on human ecology, that have appeared very recently. Rierer's objective is to offer an introduction to urban sociology that will "concentrate argument and . . . eliminate stray information that might bewilder rather than educate the beginner." There are two positions in the instruction situation from which to judge a text: the instructor, who writes most reviews of texts, and the student consumer, who is seldom represented in review columns. The following remarks will attempt to take both parties into consideration.

Does the text include what it should to introduce a student to urban sociology? From the instructor's point of view, the answer is partly in terms of content and partly in terms of effectiveness as a teaching aid. The text includes an introduction on the city in western

civilization. "Urban Growth" is the subject of Part I, with chapters on the growth of cities, population resources for, and geographical patterns of, city growth. "Urban Environment" is discussed in Part II, with special attention given to ecological units and processes, the slum and its people, and the urban fabric (daily movement, neighborhood, service, and natural areas). Part III focuses on "Urban Personality" with chapters on city ways, man in the city, and the family in the city. Two chapters are devoted to "Urban Leisure" (Part IV), and three on "Urban Social Organization" (Part V), including one on social planning. The text concludes with Part VI on "Urban Planning" differentiating among housing, neighborhood planning and city planning. In other words, the standard aspects of urban society are included.

For some instructors, the text will be too light on urban ecology. For such persons it will doubtless serve as a desirable counterbalance to their lecture materials. One related and regrettable shortcoming is that the opportunity to use graphic materials, especially effective in this subject, is by no means fully exploited in this text. Also from the point of view of "mechanics" of teaching, the exercises at the end of the chapters are certainly good challenges to the exceptional student, but even for him the time required to complete some of them would seem to be too great. On the other hand, the text is quite satisfactory on many counts. For example, Parts III-V cover the ground very well on both the descriptive and interpretative levels. Nevertheless, it is a little surprising to find just two paragraphs and a few incidental references to voluntary associations. It is helpful to have three types of neighborhoods differentiated (p. 147); it is likewise useful to have Chapter 15 on "Social Planning" included, though it sometimes verges on the hortative.

From the point of view of the student—if one can presume to anticipate his reactions—it should be said that readability rates high in importance, and Rierer has written a readable book. Up-to-date contents is another student fetish, a point on which this text does quite well, though it is disappointing not to have 1950 census data in all of the appropriate tables, even if the timing of book production would have permitted using only preliminary figures. The relegation of details and debates to footnotes is commendable in an introductory text. The best students, at least, are sensitive to presumptuousness on the part of writers. Rierer properly indicates the limits of actual knowledge on the subjects he discusses.

The specialist in urban studies may also be permitted a few observations on textbooks. Inevitably these include judgment on additional

considerations to those mentioned above, and on details. Such specialists may be disappointed that there is so little discussion (aside from the earliest chapters) of foreign cities. Such comparative materials might well have been included, as well as more attention to differences among cities of different sizes. As for details, it is notable that Riemer gives Richard M. Hurd due credit for having written in 1903 what many others "discovered" decades later. On the other hand, there is no mention of the multiple nuclei theory of urban growth. Important references to the literature are occasionally omitted: in Chapter 3 reference might well have been made to the migration study by Ronald Freedman; in the references to European cities the citation of Robert E. Dickinson's *The West European City* might have compensated somewhat for a point mentioned above; and, most surprising, there is no mention of Robert A. Walker in the discussion of urban planning. The chapter on "The Slum and Its People" is interesting, but one wonders, first, whether it was included as a locus for residual materials not easily discussed elsewhere; second, why the peripheral slums were not discussed more fully in the chapter; and, third, if such a chapter is to be included, why not others on such special areas of the city as the central business district, etc. In no sense would the reviewer wish these notes on details to be interpreted as picayune complaints about this particular text, for similar comments pertain for other existing texts, and will probably pertain for those forthcoming! It is patently impossible to satisfy all people on all things, to achieve perfection in writing about such a broad subject as urban sociology. Anyway, the instructor should be left with something to do!

The Modern City is both a useful text in the usual sense and, happily, it leaves one with a feeling of having been exposed to something akin to a reflective or semi-philosophical interpretation of urban society. It would appear likely to wear well with the audience for which it is intended.

GERALD BREESE

Princeton University

Race and Culture Relations. By PAUL A. F. WALTER, JR. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1952. xi, 482 pp. \$5.50.

A real need exists for a textbook in race and culture which fulfills the objectives set up for this volume—"to break with the confinement of the study of racial and cultural relations to those of the United States" and "to set the study into the framework of the organic whole of emerging sociological theory" (vii). Unfortunately, neither objective is attained in *Race and Culture Relations*.

While races and cultures in every part of the world are discussed, the *relations* between dominant and minority groups, be they racial or cultural, are not studied in a sociological framework. Lengthy treatment of "the land and the people," the cultural history, and the present cultures of six continents leaves little space for analysis of the dynamics of intergroup relations and the important social psychological concomitants of group contacts. The result resembles a travelogue more than it does a comparative study of clearly defined situations of group contact. A pervasive looseness of terminology will prove annoying to the trained reader and misleading to the novice. Especially confusing is the use of the term "minority" in a statistical sense.

While he cites Reuter's article, Professor Walter apparently fails to grasp fully the import of Reuter's statement that the trend of racial theory "has been away from physical concepts and biological processes, through cultural analysis, and into a sociological and social-psychological study of social interrelations." The study of "relations" found here is, in the main, cultural analysis, and there is an anachronistic (in terms of current racial theory) preoccupation with biological definitions of race. Declaring, "Scientists . . . have come to agree that human races are biological phenomena in their essence . . ." (p. 4), the author fails to emphasize sufficiently that the *social definitions* of race are the essence of race relations. This preoccupation with the biological is reflected in frequent references to subracial categories, such as the Nordic, Alpine, and Mediterranean, despite the arbitrary nature of such classifications and their lack of relevance to the realities of intergroup relations.

In "Analysis of the Problem" (Part III) the only "universals" about ethnic relations advanced are those which may be found at a "high" level of generalization (397-398). The general characteristics of ethnic relations deemed acceptable are that they are diverse and that they change. While modesty is becoming to the social scientist, particularly to the student of race relations, such modesty as this seems excessive!

LEWIS M. KILLIAN

Florida State University

Equality by Statute: Legal Controls over Group Discrimination. By MORROE BERGER. New York: Columbia University Press, 1952. xiii, 238 pp. \$3.25.

The first systematic account of the legal status of minorities in the United States was Stephenson's *Race Distinctions in American Laws*, published in 1910. In this study Stephen-

son concluded: "Race distinctions do not appear to be decreasing. On the contrary, distinctions heretofore existing only in custom tend to crystallize into law."

Equality by Statute not only constitutes an analysis of the legal status of minorities, but in contrast to this earlier study, demonstrates the utility of law as an instrument for changing custom and public opinion in which discrimination against minorities is perpetuated. Moreover, the author has presented substantial evidence from studies in the social sciences which shows that legislation can lessen discrimination and lead to a reduction in prejudice.

The book deals with the two periods of intense interest in race relations. The first was the Reconstruction period and the second is the present period which began about the middle of the 1930's. Legal measures designed to accord Negroes full civil rights after the Civil War failed for a number of reasons. Among these were the preoccupation with the issue of the federal-state balance; the lack of a sustained interest in civil rights, coupled with the fact that legal changes were not reinforced by institutional changes in such areas as employment, housing, and recreation; a program requiring special means of enforcement and which was too broad to succeed in a short time; lack of vigorous enforcement of civil rights statutes in the North; and neglect of the area of government employment and the armed forces in which the federal and state governments could have made advances administratively and without special legislation.

By the mid 1930's, the author points out, these handicaps had been considerably reduced as a result of a series of social changes which brought about an increase in the power of the federal and state governments. Among these changes were the expansion of functions of government under the New Deal, the effect of World War II and the opposition to Nazi racism, and industrialization and urbanization of the South. Inherent in the latter is the long-run tendency toward the reduction of discrimination against minorities as a by-product of the anonymity and impersonality of urban life. The urban environment also affords an opportunity for a minority to organize and exert concentrated pressure on political parties in its interest.

Turning to the role of the United States Supreme Court in protecting the rights of minorities, the author's analysis of cases shows that Supreme Court decisions in the period from 1868 to 1937 "buttressed laws which enforced separation and weakened those tending to facilitate the meetings of the two groups on equal grounds." However, beginning about 1937

and in response to a new climate of opinion, "the Supreme Court has more consistently upheld the civil rights of minorities."

A chapter is devoted to a critical appraisal of the operation of the New York State Law Against Discrimination. The author finds that the Commission for enforcement established by this law has relied too much upon individual complaints in initiating action. This has resulted in a slow, haphazard and unsystematic approach to the problem of discrimination. Nevertheless, it is concluded that despite the Commission's cautious procedures in its emphasis upon education and persuasion in dealing with offenders, such an anti-discriminatory law is effective in reducing employment discrimination. Since the relationship between employer and employee has become chiefly an economic bond, it is possible for a community to insist that employment be based upon ability, thus rendering such considerations as race, creed, and national origin irrelevant to employment. This merely adds an important regulation to employer-employee relationships which for a generation have been regulated in regard to such matters as accidents, child labor, wages, hours, and unionism.

This book constitutes an impressive treatment of a problem of great import to America. As such it invites the serious attention of students of race relations and social change, and especially those who regard themselves as practitioners in the field of intergroup relations.

HARRY J. WALKER

Howard University

From Black to White in South Australia. By RONALD and CATHERINE BERNDT. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1952. 313 pp. \$5.00.

As the Berndts declare, their study is descriptive, rather than comparative or analytical, dealing with some outstanding features of the contact between white settlers and people of aboriginal stock. Four areas are examined. The marginal or "outback" Coldeas shows the deliberately disrupting effect of the policy and activities of an ethnocentric Mission body; Northern South Australia shows a cross section of the present contact situation; the Lower River Murray is chiefly half caste with only a few survivals of the indigenous culture; finally, in urban Adelaide the above trends "are brought to their anticipated conclusion. People of aboriginal stock, when they settle here, lose the characteristics of their local indigenous culture, and become gradually standardized according to the conventional patterns of Australian-white urban society."

The estimated 300,000 pre-European population in Australia had declined by 1947 to 46,638 full-blood Aborigines and 27,179 half castes (in South Australia 2,139 and 2,157 respectively). While Aborigines continue to decrease, half castes show a higher fertility rate than either parent stock.

People of European stock were convinced from the start of their great superiority to the blacks. They strove to get cheap native labor and have sexual relations with the native women. School, church and government reenforced the whites' ethnocentrism and struck repeated blows at the black culture. The blacks were unable to resist effectively, and with the passing of the old native leaders, less and less anxious to do so. Both blacks and whites now seem to regard the solution of the problem of this relatively small minority as one of elimination of the blacks through a combination of cultural assimilation and race mixture. But meanwhile there are problems, and the lot of those making the transition, similar to the story of many other minority groups, is not a happy one. There is wide resentment of the deliberate destruction of their traditions and culture and of the fact that they have not been allowed to enter fully into the new society which has been responsible for this change.

"Many of them have lost faith in anything but their own immediate concerns. They are restless and dissatisfied, feeling that in white society (to which they are at least partially affiliated by birth) they are not fully accepted or welcomed; while the other, aboriginal, society to which also they should belong has been a vanishing entity for more than half a century. Since there is no practical alternative for them, their future is inevitably involved with that of the white community, of which they already are (whatever their feelings may be in the matter) definitely, if not always willingly, a part."

The book lacks case histories. One finishes the volume without getting the feeling that he is well acquainted with the Aborigines. The writing is often choppy. In a book abounding in place names there is not a single map!

On the other hand, the Berndts are no novices. They have done a good bit of research together, including three books on Arnhem Land (north-central Australia). In a period of years they have amassed a tremendous amount of material on the subject at hand. Field work has been interwoven with extensive bibliographical materials. The result is a valuable study of the assimilation of a small and scattered colored minority into the Australian white society.

JOHN BIESANZ

Wayne University

Psycho-Analysis and Culture. Edited by GEORGE B. WILBUR and WARNER MUENSTERBERGER. New York: International Universities Press, Inc., 1951. xii, 462 pp. \$10.00.

This is a remarkable collection of essays written in honor of Géza Róheim on his sixtieth birthday. The writers of these essays, outstanding people in the fields of psychiatry, anthropology, medicine, and various social sciences, give expression of the esteem they have for Dr. Róheim. The editors regard Géza Róheim as one of the first to dedicate his work to studying the individual and culture and to integrate within himself the techniques of the trained anthropologist and psychoanalyst. Róheim carried on extensive field researches in Africa, Australia, Melanesia, and among American Indians. The editors consider him the first to combine the methods of psychoanalysis and anthropology in demonstrating not only the universality of the problems but also the fixed relationships between psychic organization and specific institutions. They point out that he observed in his field research the manner in which institutions and patterns of behavior contained the basic psychological problems and conflicts.

It is to be noted that Róheim modified his strictly Freudian theoretical orientation after his extensive anthropological researches. He abandoned the primal horde theory and substituted the ontogenetic theory of culture. He replaced the hypothesis of the racial unconscious with the theory of man's delayed infancy. Róheim suggested in *The Origin and Function of Culture* that civilization originated in "delayed infancy and its function as security. It is a huge network of more or less successful attitudes to protect mankind against the danger of object loss, the colossal efforts made by a baby who is afraid of being left alone in the dark."

It is not within the province of this review to assess the works of Géza Róheim which have aroused great interest as well as adverse criticism, but only to discuss the unusual variety of essays written in his honor in this volume.

The chapters are grouped under the headings of (I) Culture and Personality, (II) Sociology, (III) Epistemology, (IV) Mythology, (V) Linguistics, and (VI) Art and Literature. The first section consists of eight chapters, some of them by collaborating specialists like Hartmann, Kris and Loewenstein; Kluckhohn and Morgan; George Devereux and Karl Menninger. The second group of essays under the heading of Sociology contains nine chapters. Among the contributors are J. C. Flugel, Money-Kyrle, Robert Waelder, K. R. Eissler, and Michael Balint. The third group on Episte-

mology contains two fascinating chapters, one by George B. Wilbur on "A Psychoanalyst's Ruminations on an Epistemological Problem," and another by Edmund Bergler on "The Mirror of Self-Knowledge." The fourth group on Mythology has two chapters. The section on Linguistics contains one essay and the sixth and last section on Art and Literature consists of five chapters written by various contributors. In all, thirty-three writers have either singly or in collaboration contributed to this work. It is a worthy tribute to Dr. Róheim, especially since a good many of the contributors are leaders in their respective fields representing diverse areas of knowledge.

One can hardly begin to select for critical discussion any particular essay or group of essays. However, the chapter by Hartmann, Kris, and Loewenstein on "Some Psychoanalytic comments on 'Culture and Personality'" may be singled out as deserving especial attention by students interested in this subject. Although the treatment suffers from the same shortcoming that the writings on culture and personality have in common, that the conclusions are not justified by the available data, still the ideas presented could be fruitful in further study of culture. Karl Menninger's essay on "Totemic Aspects of Contemporary Attitudes Toward Animals" is also a noteworthy contribution, containing many provocative ideas. Another chapter which could be singled out is Edmund Bergler's essay on "The Mirror of Self Knowledge," which students of social psychology interested in the development of the self would find of great value.

Because of its vastness in scope, this is not the type of book that one can subject to fair criticism. One basic weakness, however, is that some of the contributions are far afield from the main theme of the book and fall a good deal short of the high quality of the rest of the essays. There is a valuable bibliography of Géza Róheim's writings for the benefit of those who would like to study his original works.

SAMUEL M. STRONG

Carleton College

The Culture of Security in San Carlos: A Study of a Guatemalan Community of Indians and Ladinos. By JOHN GILLIN. New Orleans: Publication No. 16, Middle American Research Institute, The Tulane University of Louisiana, 1951. vii. 128 pp. No price indicated.

"One day," the author says, "we expect to publish a systematic over-all monograph on San Carlos or some similar communities that have been studied, in which the vocabulary will be strictly scientific and the style wrung dry. In

the following pages, however, a relatively informal presentation of the culture patterns is offered, and an interpretation in terms of security function is ventured" (p. 3).

The "informal presentation" shows up in a number of ways. There is no index. Quite a few easily translated Spanish words occur without warning in the English text. No glossary is provided. The chapters vary widely in the degree to which the original observations have been abstracted and ordered into a conceptual system. The chapter, "The Fiesta of the Patron Saint," seems to be field notes arranged so as to give the sequence of events. Some observations and comments that have no bearing on the fiesta have not been edited out. Another chapter, "The Social Structure as a Source of Satisfaction and Frustration," is a good many steps removed from the original field notes.

In the main, the book is an ethnographic account of contemporary San Carlos, with more attention to change and acculturation than used to be the rule in such works. From chapters 2 to 12, mention of the security function of culture is spotty—fairly extensive in certain chapters and entirely missing in others. The final chapter, 13, is wholly devoted to this topic under the heading, "The Balance of Threat and Security." It is an interesting discussion that can be read for and by itself with little reference to the rest of the book. Gillin's analysis leads one to look forward to the results of his future labors in the area of culture and security.

A. T. HANSEN

University of Alabama

Education and American Civilization. By GEORGE S. COUNTS. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1952. xiv, 491 pp. \$3.75.

The author states the purpose of the volume as "an effort to develop a conception of American education which will support the values of a free society in the present troubled age as effectively and as vigorously as the educational conceptions of totalitarian states support the purposes of despotism."

From one point of view, Dr. Counts has admirably fulfilled his purpose, and his own adjectives—effective and vigorous—aptly describe the content and style of this extremely interesting book. But from another point of view, the parallel is inaccurate; the volume is not an emotionalized eulogy on democracy as a comparable volume would be on Communism. It is a rational realistic appraisal of our democratic way of life—its development, its strengths, and its remedial shortcomings.

The primary emphasis is on trends rather than a portrayal of specifics.

The book describes the changes in our education between wars, relates our early American heritage, describes the technological revolution tending toward a new civilization, appraises our American values, describes education for the emerging industrial age, and points up the role of education and of the teacher in relation to the social forces of the community, the nation and the world.

Each chapter is a series of positive statements followed by factual and, frequently, dynamic elaboration or justification of the premise. The following are representative: "We fail to make full use of the great agencies of communication and education to equip our minds for the tasks of the industrial age"; "We need an education dedicated to the achievement of individual excellence of the highest order." Other needs in education indicated by Counts are: an education that will preserve, vitalize and strengthen the principles of equality and political liberty in our country, one that will be directed toward the achievement of an economy of security and plenty, that will prepare the young to build a civilization of beauty and grandeur and that will be dedicated to the building of an enduring civilization in a world community.

It is this writer's fear that this interesting and excellent book will not have the influence it merits. Except for a very few statements such as his expressed judgment that separate schools whether for Negroes or for religious purposes are divisional forces in American life, there is little of a controversial nature in the volume. It is not sufficiently explicit to be of specific help to administrators or curriculum specialists. Yet almost every one of the several hundred statements of a point of view might well be the starting point for constructive revitalization of American education. It is a book from which the layman would also gain understanding of the task before our schools and colleges.

FRANCIS J. BROWN

American Council on Education

Darwin Competition and Cooperation. By ASHLEY MONTAGU. New York: Henry Schuman, 1952. 148 pp. \$2.50.

This appears to be a second by-product of a larger undertaking, which is receiving "generous support" from Professor Pitirim Sorokin's Research Center in Altruistic Integration and Creativity. Like its predecessor, *On Being Human* (See *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 15, pp. 454 and 675) it is basically a tendentious work designed to discredit the Darwinian con-

ception of the struggle for existence as usually conceived. "This essay should be entitled *The Darwinian Fallacy* for two reasons, firstly, because it attempts to exhibit a fundamental fallacy of Darwin's thought and that of his interpreters, and secondly, because it refers to false ideas held by most persons concerning the meaning of Darwinism" ("Preface," p. 10). The "fundamental fallacy" was the failure of Darwin and his interpreters to give sufficient emphasis to cooperation, as opposed to competition, as a factor in organic evolution.

If one can demonstrate a basic scientific proposition by numerous loosely integrated quotations from a variety of authorities, then our author has made a clear case. Much more is known about organic evolution now than in 1859. Numerous investigators from Espinas (1877-78) to Allee (1938-51) have emphasized the role of communality in the lives of organisms. We also know that Darwin's theory of heredity was defective and his theory of how selection acts woefully inadequate.

Professor Montagu, however, does not attempt a simple orderly account of the new findings. His work reads more like a polemic against competition and all notions of the struggle for existence as competitive in nature. He lays much stress on Darwin's cultural medium as giving character to his interpretation to what he saw in nature. Although he says: "The validity of a theory is unaffected by what suggested it" (p. 30), he nevertheless spends a good deal of ammunition on Darwin's social status and the competitive and even combative character of social life during the Victorian era. One must note that none of the evil things that men do to each other were new in that era. One may even argue that British imperialism was certainly no worse than Spanish or Portuguese; that British labor was far less exploited than much labor elsewhere; that these and other evils seem to have taken on a new lease of life under a social philosophy that pretends to hate all that the Victorian era adored. That era was also an era of sincere devotion to the great Christian principles of charity and brotherly love.

In short, does science have a validity independent of its cultural medium? Certainly in this study one needs a more precise definition of terms, a careful analysis of the shades of difference in their manifestation under different conditions, and an attempt to find the balance between them. This is all the more needed since our author does not attempt to discard the terms competition or struggle: "competition, struggle, as well as cooperation occur in nature" (pp. 103-4). He finds that Dobzhansky "stated the situation perfectly" in a

quotation beginning "Cooperation, competition, struggle, and various combinations of these forms of relationship . . ." (p. 104).

Finally, it is pertinent to ask whether and to what extent one may transfer the meaning of terms expressing social processes from the animal to the human level without giving them special interpretation. On the human level competition is a form of cooperation; and the basic defense of competition is that it promotes the general welfare of the social group. The author complains that the evidences of cooperation in the animal world have received too little attention; he expects a great change in this respect in the future. Even if biologists adopted this view, would it necessarily alter the human outlook? I retain considerable doubt. The Malthusian spectre is not yet laid. Race and national antagonisms seem unabated. The balance which Spencer attempted to strike between egoism and altruism seems much the same as in his day.

FRANK H. HANKINS

Smith College

Modern Nationalities: A Sociological Study. By FLORIAN ZNANIECKI. Urbana: The University of Illinois Press, 1952. xvi, 196 pp. \$3.95.

From his intimate acquaintance with Polish society, and from student papers on a variety of other national cultures, Znaniecki has drawn a generalization highly important for political theory. Going against the theory that the only effective social unity is that of an organized political state, Znaniecki holds that nationalities—or, as he prefers to call them, national culture societies—are the effectively functioning units in the contemporary world. Thus he sets forth a political theory with sociological assumptions, the main one of which is that a common and distinctive culture is a major source of group solidarity. The book is brief, but in it Znaniecki tries to accomplish the following: trace the origins of national culture societies, list the factors in their solidarity, indicate sources of conflict between them, and suggest how conflict between them can be reduced so that a world culture can come into existence.

The tracing of origins of nationalities leads the author into speculation about social origins, an interesting but sometimes controversial pursuit. For example: "Since writing was probably invented everywhere by priests, religious cultures developed long before national cultures began to emerge" (p. 12). Znaniecki assigns the major role in history not to statesmen or to military leaders, but to intellectuals, since for him national self-consciousness is developed by men of letters, historians and ethnographers, ideologists, artists and musicians, scientists and

economic leaders. Certain kinds of groups fostered the activities of these intellectuals, and thus are given due attention in the account of the rise of national culture societies: courts of rulers, associations of men of letters, associations for the promotion of knowledge, universities, political groups, etc. Every important development is traced to the intellectuals. For example, in referring to the ideal of an egalitarian society, Znaniecki says, "Although it has never yet been fully achieved, we believe that every important step toward its achievement in any society can be proved to have been initiated by a relatively small group of ideologists" (p. 73).

The masses start out by having loyalty only to their families and their local communities. It is the intellectuals who indoctrinate them with broader loyalties such as nationalism. This they do with such themes as the cult of heroes, the myth of common descent and racial unity, national land as a group possession, need for defense against foreign enemies, popular education, and a distinctive language. When nationalism is developed, conflict is likely to ensue among nationalities, since each has a tendency to expand geographically, economically, culturally and ideologically. Peace requires counteracting nationalistic loyalties, but this can be done only through a similar process of building a common world culture and mass loyalty to it. The steps are through encouraging international cooperation, for both material and cultural purposes, on both an individual and associational level. Propaganda must be directed at making people realize that foreigners are essentially human like themselves, and at making people understand and appreciate foreign cultures. Only a world culture can make for a world society, and only in world society can international conflict be eliminated. If Znaniecki is correct, the most important of all international organizations is UNESCO.

Granting the positive contribution of Znaniecki's study, we may note that he fails to come to grips with two questions: (1) If governments refuse to let intellectuals cooperate to build a world culture, how can anything be done? (2) How can we be sure that intellectuals, if unhampered, will choose to build a world culture with a selection of the best elements of the national cultures? These are the questions that are bothering all world-minded people, and it perhaps is expecting too much of a short treatise to attempt to tackle them. For what he sets out to do, Znaniecki offers a wise and scholarly book.

ARNOLD M. ROSE

University of Minnesota

BOOK NOTES

An Autobiographical Study. By SIGMUND FREUD.
New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc.,
1952. 141 pp. \$2.50.

This volume is a reprint of a paper first published in the United States in 1927. Contrary to the statement on the dust jacket, it is a record not of Freud's personal life but of his professional life, in which he relates his discovery of psychoanalysis, its early development and the nature of his later contributions to it. In a postscript, written in 1935, he remarks that he has said much more about his personal life in his writings on psychoanalysis, particularly in *The Interpretation of Dreams*, than in this autobiography.

The early enmity and later success experienced by Freud and psychoanalysis are today part of the history of science. The value of this autobiography lies not in its presentation of a story now familiar, but in the fact that it is presented by the man who experienced it.

What Freud has to say about the sociopsychological conditions that formed him and his science and his view on the relation between psychoanalysis and the social sciences, are still of vital importance to the social scientist today. From his youth, he writes, he had no particular predilection for the career of a physician, and in his studies he was motivated more by interest in human concerns than in natural objects. He stresses that psychoanalysis never was a purely medical subject, returning to this point with renewed emphasis at the end of the book and saying, "it is no longer possible to restrict the practice of psychoanalysis to physicians and to exclude laymen from it," and that psychoanalysis has become the science of unconscious mental processes. As such, it has taken Freud "after a life-long detour through the natural sciences, medicine and psychotherapy to the cultural problems which had fascinated me long before." Thus, at least at the time of writing this, Freud saw the applications of psychoanalysis in the social sciences, including education, as even more important than those in the treatment of mental illness. Freud felt that, in order for psychoanalysis to make its most significant contribution, full training in psychoanalysis must be made available to social scientists. Psychoanalysis must not be viewed as a merely medical specialty. It is perhaps our misfortune that the psychoanalytic training centers have so far failed to heed Freud's advice; as a result, the fullest possible con-

tribution of psychoanalysis to social science and to our culture has not yet been realized.—
BRUNO BETTELHEIM.

Psychiatry and the Law. By MANFRED S. GUTTMACHER and HENRY WEIHOFEN. New York: W. W. Norton and Company, Inc., 1952. viii, 476 pp. \$7.50.

Designed as a practical guide for legal and medical practitioners, this volume, the collaborative product of a psychiatrist and a lawyer, will also interest social scientists. It describes how legal norms reflect conventional attitudes towards deviants and how the occupational roles of psychiatrist and lawyer are related.

In analyzing the legal implications of behavior resulting from the neuroses, psychoses, psychopathies, sex deviation, organic brain injuries and congenital mental deficiencies, the authors show pointedly how irrational motives become integral parts of legal evidence, the bases for judicial decisions, and even the sources for treatment or punishment. Thus when injuries or incapacitations are involved, an individual who becomes neurotically disabled from his job will be entitled to compensation only if it can be demonstrated that his condition did not result from other causes. Patently, the demonstration of his evidence is as much a psychiatric as it is a legal problem. The use of diagnoses as legal evidence makes psychiatric judgment almost an integral aspect of law, and the recent advances in understanding disordered behavior has given psychiatry a legal respectability which it never had before.

From a psychiatric viewpoint, the authors present the many advances in understanding personality and the different disorders. Simply and clearly, they delineate the diagnostic types. Then from a legal viewpoint, they trace the problems connected with adjudicating psychopaths and sex offenders, with testing and sterilizing mental defectives, and with hospitalizing psychotics. They discuss the place of psychiatric opinion in legal issues, the problems of the psychiatrist as expert witness, the lawyer's need for competent psychiatric advice, and the whole problem of disordered behavior in criminal activity. Interspersing their discussion with illustrative case studies, relevant statistics and pertinent findings, the authors have produced an interesting and informative work which synthesizes two diverse fields of endeavor.—
S. KIRSON WEINBERG.

Personality in the Making: The Fact-Finding Report of the Midcentury White House Conference on Children and Youth. Edited by HELEN LELAND WITMER and RUTH KOTINSKY. New York: Harpers, 1952. xviii, 454 pp. \$4.50.

This report follows the theme of the Conference—"For Every Child—a Fair Chance for a Healthy Personality."

Part I begins with a dynamic conception of personality, specifies the requirements believed necessary for its healthy development, evaluates the influence of various factors on its development ranging from congenital characteristics through family relations, income level, prejudice and discrimination, and religion.

Part II, comprising two-thirds of the report, is concerned with ways in which the conditions necessary to healthy personality development may be achieved through the functioning of social institutions and agencies.

The treatment throughout is eclectic in that an effort is made to present impartially the views of the numerous and varied individuals and groups who participated in the Conference and the research findings assembled by the fact finding committee. Nevertheless, the editors have done a judicious job of synthesizing and evaluating the varied contributions so that the result is a comprehensive review of recent theory and research in personality development and its relationship to the social and cultural setting.

In keeping with the purposes of the Conference a pragmatic approach is followed throughout. Theory and research findings are brought to bear on practical considerations of maximizing the conditions which make for healthy personality development.

The Report will prove invaluable to parents, teachers, youth leaders, and all others engaged in community and social services. For them it will provide a handbook both in practical programs, and basic understandings of forces that affect mental health and personality development.

Scholars and research workers will find here nothing new in their fields of specialization, but they will gain perspective regarding the relation of their work to the totality of our knowledge, and some will derive satisfaction from this very capable job of utilizing theory and research as guides to social action.—JOEL V. BERREMAN.

Where Peoples Meet: Racial and Ethnic Frontiers. By EVERETT CHERRINGTON HUGHES and HELEN MACGILL HUGHES. Glencoe: The Free Press, 1952. 204 pp. \$3.50.

Robert E. Park thought that American sociologists did themselves and their students a dis-

service by over-concentration on American society. In general he stood for the comparative method and in particular for the investigation of those "frontiers" where contact and change were going on. Both in his own essays and in the monographic work of such followers as Pierson, Romanzo Adams, Stonequist, and Hughes, this methodological conviction was translated into a valuable and significant part of the body of sociological theory and knowledge.

In the book under review Park's students, Everett C. and Helen M. Hughes, state their indebtedness to Park but hardly discharge it. The contact frontiers which are the central topic of this collection of essays include the major areas of urbanization and industrialization and, by extension, the industrial situation itself. This is unexceptionable, but neither the theory nor empirical knowledge about racial and/or culture contact is significantly advanced. The freshly written part of the book may not have been intended for the professional sociologist but its easy style and wide-ranging comment may make it useful as a collateral reading for Introductory or Race Relations courses. If an antidote is needed for academic parochialism as the writers and their publisher believe, at least the chief ingredients for a prescription may be found here.

An appendix of more than fifty pages, about one-quarter of the book, is made up of five papers by Everett Hughes published between 1945 and 1949. An additional chapter is also largely a reprint of an article from the 1949 *American Sociological Review*.—LEONARD BROOM.

Japanese American Personality and Acculturation (Genetic Psychology Monographs, 1952, 45, 3-102). By WILLIAM CAUDILL. Provincetown, Massachusetts: The Journal Press, 1952. 102 pp. No price indicated.

This monograph consists of a report on the testing of an hypothesis, one destined undoubtedly to receive further attention: "There seems to be a significant compatibility (but by no means identity) between the value systems found in the culture of Japan and the value systems found in the American middle class culture." To test this hypothesis the main body of data are taken from TAT records of 30 adult immigrant Japanese, 40 American born, 40 "white lower middle class" and 20 "white upper lower class" records. Considerable other data were also used: focussed interviews from 50 Japanese, 140 Rohrschach records, 5 exploratory interviews of a psychoanalyst, case records from social agencies, a special study of child rearing practices, interviews from employers, and of course census materials. The Warner

system of ISC and ILA were used for class assignments. Efforts were made to control the sample.

After a descriptive statement of Japanese family organization, focussed on the Japanese conception of obligation, the main data are used for presenting what has been derived as the basic personality characteristics of the Issei, Nisei, and white middle class. The personality characteristics established have been classified into three categories: parental and familial adjustments and emotional attitudes toward home; goals, life tasks, and self attitudes; marriage, sexual, and general interpersonal adjustment.

The second major section of description, with a minimum of analysis, deals with modes in the range of Issei and Nisei personality adjustment. The modal types are worked out but no statistical treatment of the total sample is given although illustrative material does support the description of types.

The contributions of this report are significant in the literature of Japanese immigrants and their children. And it does suggest a number of important questions for theory as well as procedures for comparative studies of the groups of children of immigrants.—FORREST E. LA-VIOLETTE.

Vanguard of Nazism. By ROBERT G. L. WAITE. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1952. xii, 344 pp. \$6.00.

This brilliantly written and well-documented book is written by a historian who has a very clear orientation toward the sociological viewpoint. Dr. Waite views the history of the Free Corps which operated in Germany from about 1919 to about 1923 as the integral part of a movement which culminated in the establishment of Hitler in power. An appendix to the book lists the prominent members of the Free Corps movement who became members of the Nazi elite under Hitler. Of greater importance is the clear evidence presented in Dr. Waite's book that the attitudes and methods of handling opponents that characterized Nazi organizations were developed prior to Hitler in such organizations as the Wehrwolves and the fighting units which were under the leadership of adventurers like Rossbach and Reinhard. Dr. Waite traces the origin of the Free Corps to the pre-war Youth Movement, the post-war demoralization and the opportunity which a weak, liberal, democratic government offered to former military leaders to return to prominence as fighters against radical insurgents in Germany. The book discusses in great detail the various campaigns in which the Free Corps was engaged; its participation in the offensive in the Baltic in 1919, in the Kapp Putsch in 1920, in the anti-

Polish activities in upper Silesia in 1922, and in the defiance of the French occupation of the Ruhr in 1923.

It is clear from Dr. Waite's analysis that the Free Corps were not merely reactionaries but aimed, albeit without a clear program, at a new nationalism for which Hitler furnished the ideology subsequently. Although he takes serious issue with some of the national socialists over the significance of the German Free Corps movement he nevertheless admits "that the Free Corps did make fundamental and direct contributions to Hitler's Germany".

On the whole the book is a major contribution since it is the first systematic and exhaustive treatment of a phase in German history and the background of a social movement the full understanding of which is a necessary, but as yet uncompleted, task.—THEODORE ABEL.

A Century of Conflict. By STEFAN T. POSSONY. Chicago: Henry Regnery Co., 1953. xx, 439 pp. \$7.50.

In the opinion of the reviewer, this is probably the best and most sensible survey of the Soviet techniques of international and internal revolutions, aimed, at the end of the road, to bring about world conquest. Looking more critically at the work, the first six chapters, analyzing the origins of Marx's theories and relating them to the history of the communist movement and the rise of the Soviet Russia, offer little that is new; but the analysis is quite penetrating and supplants numerous other studies appearing nearly daily on the persistent expansion of Soviet imperialism in Eurasia. Chapter 7, "Toward the Fourth Round of World Revolution," and Chapter 8, "Soviet Conflict Management: A Synthesis," are quite original since they bring together in a systematic way all that has been "discovered" about the principles of Soviet world revolutionary strategies. It is to the credit of Possony, especially, that he has applied his knowledge of the field of military science and geopolitics to the communist techniques of world revolution, with results that will be quite surprising to many a sociologist not acquainted with such concepts as the complete identity of "front" and "rear" warfare, the use of "peace partisans" from the military point of view, of the "common fronts," goons, rioters, and the like.

There are only some minor weak links in Possony's able presentation. In spite of his erudition which utilizes several foreign languages, here and there the author fails to cite all the authoritative or all available sources. For instance, Possony errs in accepting one authority which states that in 1944 "the soviets organized a guerrilla uprising in Slovakia" and

then "showed their appreciation for the help received by shooting the same Slovak war minister who had directed the operation" (p. 283). As a matter of fact, General Rudo Viest, the victim, was sent to Slovakia to organize this guerrilla warfare by the late President Beneš and was betrayed by the Soviets to the Nazis who hung him. But this and several other minor points which could be questioned do not detract from this most timely and valuable contribution to Political Sociology as well as to contemporary history.—JOSEPH S. ROUCEK.

Man Against Mass Society. By GABRIEL MARCEL. Chicago: Henry Regnery Company, 1952. 205 pp. \$4.50.

Marcel is a literary philosopher and a Christian mystic. He does not approve an objective approach to existence, nor enjoy common expressions of experience. So he deprecates materialism and repudiates mass action. Consequently, he distrusts technology and detests war. Such a person might be expected to reject Communism and dictatorship, as Marcel does.

When men devote their lives to perfecting machines, they lose sight of human needs that prompted those devices. Thus factories degrade craftsmanship, automobiles destroy lives, and radios dull imagination. People labor to obtain such conveniences, and are enslaved by them. Wealth is regarded as a sum of goods, and the value of life is reckoned in terms of money.

Society also deteriorates. In our crowded cities, men do not know their neighbors. They are loosely attached to jobs, and face one another occasionally at public celebrations. Their scraps of information are gathered from newspapers or pictures, and their loyalties are stirred to demonstration by the arts of propaganda. Bureaucrats and politicians control the government, so that people do not learn to lead.

Marcel believes much disorder is due to shallow thinking. Modern men forget God; set up false idols, as Democracy; assume fictitious reasons—"all men are equal"; and trust the weight of majorities (statistics) to prove the validity of doubtful statements. Then it becomes the duty of a philosopher to discern and demonstrate the danger of such manifestations. He should help men to comprehend the need for upholding universal standards of truth and love.

In the Conclusion, Marcel gives an estimate of his work, which we accept as judicious:

"The philosopher can help to save man from himself only by a pitiless and unwearying denunciation of the spirit of abstraction. No doubt he will be denounced as a Conservative, a reactionary, possibly even a Fascist. . . . It is the masses who hurl these accusations at him or, at most, the man who is only an echo of the masses. But the philosopher knows that the mass itself is a lie and it is *against the mass* and *for the universal* that he must bear witness." *Soit!*—HOWARD B. WOOLSTON.

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(Listing of a publication below does not preclude its subsequent review)

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